

HISTORY

ĀSĀFU'D DAŪLAH,

NAWĀB WAZĪR OF OUDH:

BEING A

TRANSLATION OF "TAFZĪHU'L GHĀFĪLĪN,"

A Contemporary Record of Events connected with his
Administration:

COMPILED BY ABU TALĪB,

AN OFFICIAL OF THE DAY,

AND

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN BY

W. HOEY, M.A., D.LIT.

Allahabad:

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE PERSIAN manuscript of which this is a translation was handed to me some years ago by Chaudhri Rámzán Ali, Ta'luqdár of Unao, who had heard that I was collecting unpublished records of Oudh history. He found it in the library of his grandfather, the late Taluqdar Chaudhri Dost Ali, who had obtained it from an official of the Oudh Court. The deceased Ta'luqdar had died only shortly before I received this manuscript, and as he had left a large and valuable library, I hoped to be favoured with other manuscripts of this class, but unfortunately the library was scattered. This untoward event cannot, I believe, be said to be attributable to any fault of the present Taluqdar, and his anxiety to place this work in my hands shows he was alive to the value of family libraries, which are now growing very rare. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness in giving me this work. The author, Abu Talib, gives in the body of the work (p 13 seq.) an account of his family and of his antecedents prior to his arrival in search of an official career in Oudh. The

general narrative of the book is based on the knowledge of affairs which he acquired through his official connection with the Nāwāb Wazīr and the East India Company's agents in Oudh. He gives a detailed history of his personal services and adventures as a revenue official under Haidar Beg Khān; his experience as a subordinate of Colonel Hannay, who farmed the country known as Sarwār, and of his connection with Mr Johnson and others as a manager of the confiscated jāgirs of the Begams of Oudh. Little is, therefore, left to be gathered of his life up to the time he removed to Calcutta, which was not long before he wrote his record. He does not seem to have returned to Oudh. On the 7th February, 1799, A D, he sailed from Calcutta, and went round the Cape to Europe. He visited Ireland, England, France, Turkey and other European States, returning *via* Basrah to Bombay, and he went through to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 14th August, 1803. He has left a well written account of his travels, *Masīr i Tālib*, now difficult to procure. His ultimate fate is not known.

The chief value of this record is that it is a contemporaneous history, and the author was intimately acquainted with all the affairs about which he wrote, and was, indeed, a principal

actor in most of them. He is fearless in his disclosures, and, if he is scathing in the denunciation of the Nawáb Wazír and his ministers, he is certainly warm in the defence of his patrons when he considers them unjustly attacked. Of his honesty I have, no doubt. The book is so well arranged and concisely written that there is fortunately no need of a summary here: and the reader will at once, as he reads, be able to observe and note the bearing of each part of the chronicle on many questions still open to discussion connected with the beginning of British interference in Oudh affairs.

GONDAL, OUDH ; }
June 9, 1885. }

W. HOEK.

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GONDAH, OUDH ; }

June 9, 1885. }

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I, THE humble Abu Tálíb, son of Muhammad Isfahání, beg to inform those who are interested in and value historical truth and accuracy that, in the year 1211 Hijri during my residence in Calcutta, Captain Richardson, a gentleman of great natural ability and very eminent, asked me, the humble author of this book, to commit to writing all the occurrences of the time of Nawáb Asafu'd Daulah, so that the real facts of that period, which are inaccurately and partially retailed by unreliable strangers, might be brought together in one clear narrative. In compliance with the request of that kind friend, these fragmentary notes were collected. As the writing of history is the most important of all means of conveying knowledge, if my readers discover any error, I beg to be pardoned, for I have lost my diaries, and I have been compelled to write from memory.

As the succession of office passes from one to another, I shall, before entering on the real subject of these pages, give an account of some of the servants of the late Nawab, Shujáud-Daulah, so that the reader may not be at a loss

to know who the persons are whose names will
subsequently occur

Twelve centuries and twelve years from the Flight
Saw me 'Tafzīhu l Ghafilīn indite

* * * * *

For my repose pray ye who read these pages *
Which shrine my name though I be dead for ages

* There are twelve couplets in the original but the whole is not
worth reproducing I have turned only the first couplet and the last

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TAFZÍHÚ'L GHÁFILÍN.
A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
ASAFU'D DAULAH,
NAWÁB WAZÍR OF OUDH.

INTRODUCTORY

It must be remembered that, at the time of the death of the late Nawáb, Shujá ud Daulah, there were three sons of his of full age, who enjoyed a recognized position in the public eye. The eldest of these was Mirza Amán Asafu'd Daulah, born of the Nawáb Begam, who had been declared heir apparent during his father's lifetime, and had held a separate *sarkár* like his father. The management of that *sarkár* and the correspondence between father and son had been entrusted to Saiyad Murtaza Khán, Taba Tabái, who eventually became Mulhtarud Daulah. This Mulhtarud Daulah was one of the old retainers of the Nawáb Wazir's family, and a nephew of Nawab Mustafa Khan, one of the nobles of Wilayat, who emigrated to Hindustan and obtained high appointments in the imperial service, some from Muhammad Sháh, and some from Safdar Jang, his naib.

Another son of the late Nawab Wazir was Mirza Sa'adat Ali, who, at the time of his father's death, was

employed with about 20,000 horse and foot in the province of Bareilly, which had been wrested a few months previously from the hands of the Rubelas. The control of political and military affairs in that quarter was vested in Muhammad Bashir Khan, an Abyssinian slave, and the training and education of the prince was entrusted to Tafazzul Husen Khán. It may be briefly noted regarding the latter, that Lahaur was his birth-place and that of his father, and his grandfather, Karmullah Khán, was for some time agent at the Delhi Court for Mu'innu'l Mulk, the Subahdár of Lahaur. After the reverses at Lahaur, Tafazzul Husen Khán came at the close of the days of the late Nawáb Wazir to the Subah of Oudh, and attached himself to the fortunes of the Nawáb's family.

A third son was Mirza Jangali, who was honorable, brave, patient, and dignified. He was at this period with his eldest brother.

Under the late Nawáb Wazir, the appointment of Náib was nominally held by Muhammad Iraj Khán, a man of the meanest extraction. He had no real power. His first elevation was to the appointment of dárogha of the cantonment bázár, and from this he rose to the position of Náib. It should here be noted that from the time of Safdar Jang up to the present, the agents of the Nawab Wazir's family have always been men of low origin, with the sole exception of Mukhtáru'd Daulah, who was of noble extraction.

Súrat Sing and his son-in-law, Rája Jagannáth, were superintendents of the accounts of revenue collectors. This Súrat Sing was an experienced and trustworthy man, one of the old servants of this family. He had

been Raja Mahánarayan's itiq náib, and was of his caste. The last named Rája was the Diwán of the late Nawáb Wazír and eventually Náib-i-Mulk, and the famous Beni Bahadur was surahi-bardár of this Mahánarayan, and Mahánarayan was son of Ramnarayan, and he and his brother Partáb Sing were dewans of Sadr Jang. They were the sons of Atma Ram Khatri, the Diwán of Burhanu'l-Mulk. In those days no officials except these could be credited for trustworthiness and honesty. The Nawáb's military regulations and the ordering of the escort on occasions of public appearance were in the hands of Mubammad Bashír Khán, who was a kind of second Náib like Muhammad Iraj Khan, for some servants were entertained by him and some by Mubammad Iraj Khan, and some by neither of them. Since the late Nawáb used to discharge all business personally, these Naibs were men of no influence.

The charge of the treasury and the passing of the military accounts and the muster-rolls, and the offices connected therewith, were under Tapar Chand, who was the nephew of the famous Zauqí Mal, and Shaikh Abu'l Barakát Khán Bakhshí was employed in this department under his superintendence. This Shaikh Abu'l Barakát Khan was one of the Shaikhzadás of Kákorí, a man of family, perfect and without flaw. Among his relatives is Mir'zu'ddin Khán, one of the notables of Lucknow, a man who by proved loyalty has established claims on this family, and a few other men still remain distinguished for knowledge and courtesy, for administrative experience and military skill.

Among the officers commanding firelock infantry, Basant Ali Khán Khwájá, and among those command-

ing the matchlock infantry, Irtáfat Ali Khán and Mahlúb Ali Khán Khwája bore the rank of General Bahár Ali Khán and Jawáhir Ali Khán Khwája were employed on the guard of the haram سرا, and private treasury. Ambar Ali Khán Khwája, who was endowed with many excellent qualities, was employed as dárogha of the toshá'í khána and travelling báwarchi khána, and Manlivi Fazl Azim, with Hasan Raza Khán as his deputy, was darogha of the permanent báwarchi-khána. Various relatives of Mirza Ali Khán and Sálár Jang, although they were unemployed, held splendid jagírs and *kept up the style of nobles, and had a voice* in councils on important matters. It must here be stated that these two brothers are sons of Muhammad Isháq Khán Shustari, who had made a position for himself in the time of Muhammad Shah as a hired buffoon who studied the Emperor's humours. There is neither chastity nor self respect in this family. 'This house is all-sunshine.' The family of Safdar Jang and the people of Lucknow have been corrupted by them. Another of the intimates of the late Nawáb is Hasan Raza Khan, who used to render certain personal services to the late Nawáb and enjoyed such complete intimacy with him as to be his very mouthpiece, for most orders were delivered through him. This Hasan Raza Khan is sister's son of Kalb Ali Khán, one of the notables of Sháhjahánabád, and an imperial officer. Burhán'u'l Mulk married a daughter of this family after he settled in Hindustan, and acquired name and influence through the alliance, and the daughter of Sa'adat Khán, mother of the late Nawáb, was born of a slave girl owned by this family, who

was presented to him in his marriage dower, and Burhānu'l-Mulk strove during his life to serve this family and show his gratitude to them, but Safdar Jang held himself aloof from them, because they looked down upon his wife.

Bandah Ali Khan, Ibrahim Ali Khān and Ashraf Ali Khan, sons of that slave girl, who are now in Lucknow, are sons of the paternal uncles of Kalb Ali Khan, and besides these there are two or three hundred persons of small note in Lucknow, descendants and relatives of Kalb Ali Khan. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, an officer of the empire and a friend of Burhānu'l-Mulk's from the beginning of his career, a man of very high station and of good reputation in Lucknow, was a paternal uncle of Hasan Raza Khan, and was raised to the position of Kotwāl of Lucknow and custodian of the harām sara and private treasury of Burhānu'l-Mulk and Safdar Jang. But Hasan Raza Khan did not presume on this close connection with the late Nawāb Wazīr, but preferred to serve like an inferior, and thus secured a place in his affections. Intelligent he is and respected, skilled in many military arts and in the discipline of soldiers, endowed with resolution, endurance and dignity; but he is notoriously simple, easy-going, and parsimonious. Who is there who is not inclined to be lazy unless there be a whip to drive him? But parsimony springs from confirmed habits of economy.

Among the revenue officials the two Goshains, and Nauroz Ali Khān and Muhammad Nasir Khan, an Abyssinian slave, were the most prominent. The two Goshains maintained about 20,000 horse and foot, nāgahs and others, and administered the Duāb from

Korah to Anupshahr Nauroz Ali Khan, with 7,000 or 8,000 well kept horse and foot, was employed in repressing the refractory in Sultánpur, Partabgarh, Akbarpur and Allahabád Muhammad Nasir Khan Habshi, with 5,000 or 6,000 good horsemen and infantry, was stationed for the punishment of the rebellious *Rajas of Sarwár*, as the country between the Ghagra and the hills was called Of these, Nauroz Ali Khan was a *protége* of this family and of Mughal extraction, and the two Goshains are *chelas* of Indargir Goshain, who had exerted himself in the service of Safdar Jang in the war with Ahmad Khán Bangash and 'Imad'ul Mulk, and had thereby established claims on his *patronage*

Almás Ali Khán and Haidar Beg Khán also held insignificant appointments in the Revenue Department, but it would take too long to mention all the officers of the revenue branch in the Subah, for there were thousands of this class employed in the Government service

The late Nawab was an exceedingly skilful and wide awake governor For instance, take the case of the ámil of Khairabad, who, on account of the strength of his residence and the power of the zamindárs, made some improper request which annoyed the Nawáb The latter ordered seven Kayaths, who lived by letter writing, to be brought from the bazar He gave each of them one mahál of Khairabad, and dismissed them He appointed Parshád Sing Kumedan with three regiments to support them, and punish any one who might not submit to them, and forwarding them instructions by letters, he kept them employed for some years in

the administration of that district, and by their means the result was prosperity, economy in expenditure, a surplus of revenue, and all other tokens of a good administration.

One of the military commandants was Saiyad Jamálu'd Dîn Khán Turáni, a man endowed with all qualities of a commander, who had 2,000 Mughal cavalry, good soldiers, well mounted. Another was Mur-taza Khán Baríj, the son of the well-known Mustafa Khán, who was employed at the head of a similar contingent of well-mounted cavalry. Qásim Khán Mandal and other Afghán officers, to the number of four or six thousand, looked up to him as their leader and formed, as it were, one brigade. Jamshed Beg and Khwája Ni'matullah commanded 2,000 Turk sawárs with good horses and appointments, trained after the English style. This Jamshed Beg was of the stock of the Ját zamíndárs, and in his boyhood fell into my father's hands and was brought up carefully among his slaves, but being discontented with my father's service, he went to Áqá Táhir, a friend of my father's in the service of the East India Company, and remained with him for some months and learned the drill of the Turk sawárs. After Áqá Táhir's and my father's death and the disbanding of the Turk sawárs by order of Council, he entered the service of the late Nawáb, and at his request trained these 2,000 Turk sawárs. He was a worthy commander. There were three other divisions (kampú) of firelockmen. The command of most of these lay with Basant, and the rest had commanders of repute and respectability. There was also Mír Ahmad, commander of the Najíb battalions, which numbered

about six or seven thousand horse. They were composed of reliable men with substantial means and well armed, because Mir Ahmad, who was their trainer and drew up for them regulations of military discipline and exercises, had brought together only men of good family, and arming them with matchlocks, drilled them and trained them in various manœuvres and practices, according to the duties imposed on English regiments in those days, and they could handle cannon and muskets rapidly and effectively. Other officers, such as Shukh Ihsan and Balu Rao Marhata, and others like them, there were many, whom there is no special reason to mention. The officials of the late Nawab were not wanting in skill, despatch, and efficiency in the discharge of their duties, as will hereafter be seen. In a short time this whole circle of officials was broken up, and owing to the intrigues of self-seekers, men fit to fill their places were as impossible to find as though there had been a famine of men in the Subah.

ACCESSION

Now I begin the narration of this history. The death of the late Nāwáb occurred on the last day of the month of Ziqā'da 1188 A H, which was one month before the beginning of the year 1189 A H. On that day a calamity overtook the residents of Faizabád, and there was no one, European or native, small or great, who was not affected with grief. They had not finished the funeral obsequies of the deceased, when the heir-apparent began to think of his accession, and summoning Salár Jang and Mirza Ali Khán and other nobles from the funeral train, prepared to take his seat on the ruler's masnad. All represented to him that, as by the grace of God there was no rival to his claims, and his servants and relatives, being aware of the friendliness of the English, were all ready to yield him allegiance, it would be better if he did not exhibit impatience, and the English officials, among whom were Colonel Collins and Mr Conway, considered it advisable to wait, yet he did not heed them, but showed the greater haste, so that all had to yield to his wishes. At the same time he nominated Mir Murtaza Khan his Nāib, with full powers, and created him a *Hast-hazári* and *Sáhib-i naubat*, and appointed Jhaó L'al, a native of Faizabád, a man of low extraction, his household steward, to officiate for Muhammad Bashír Khan, gave him a fine troop of cavalry and infantry, and employed him in several capacities as his private servant. And he honoured several com

mon soldiers, who had been his orderlies, with the *amir* of Rájá and gave them the command of troops and loaded them with gifts, although they were not really *deserving of such notice*. He gave to Tahsín Ali Khán, his Khwaja Sará the post of Názir Khán sáman and many other such offices. Seeing this, the true friends of the late Nawáb despaired of the future and grew apprehensive on their own account.

First of all Muhammad Iraj on pretence of obtaining a sanad from the Emperor, went off to Shahjahan ábád, and after his arrival there, delayed the purpose of his visit and began to prosecute his own acquaintance with Zulfiqar ud Daulah, with the result that after a little time he was appointed by him Náb of the Subah of Akbarábád, and Asafu d Daulah reckoned his departure a gain and took no notice of his conduct. As in Faizabad he was near his grandmother, who disapproved of most of his proceedings, he conceived a dislike for that city and moved to Lucknow and began to build there. This was a manifest mistake which he committed, because the climate of Faizábád is better than that of Lucknow, and the ground at Lucknow is uneven and its bazárs and streets are narrow and confined. Had he first of all selected a level site for his new residence, a city worthy of a name would have been raised for less expense than was incurred in the building of Lucknow. At the same time, too, the residents would have escaped all unpleasantnesses, and his name would have survived for the wisdom of his selection.

[4th March, 1775—20th February 1776]

At this juncture Mr Middleton arrived in the province on the nomination of Mr Hastings, the Governor, and had hardly time to draw breath when Mr John Bristow arrived in Lucknow to supplant him, on the nomination of General Clavering and about the same time, the beginning of the year 1189 A H, Mirza Sa'adat Ali also came to Lucknow. The reason of this was that Asafud Daulah, immediately on his accession, sent for his brother, and despatched Mahbub Ali Khan, one of the most reliable officers attached to Bareilly, to undertake the administration and send Sa'adat Ali to him. Mirza Sa'adat Ali, having sounded Murtaza Khan Barj and other officers round him, finding that no one would assist him, hastened to join his brother. In this year Nuroz Ali Khan died and Saiyad Mu'azziz Khan, younger brother of Mukhtaru'd Daulah, was appointed his successor as Subahdar of Allahabad, and left for that place with all the pomp, paraphernalia and circumstance of office. Muhammad Nasir Khan Habsbi also having died, the territory known as Sarwar was divided out to several persons.

Asafud Daulah demanded his father's accumulated treasure from his mother, and there were many unworthy passages between them. At last the Begam, on obtaining a deed of release from her son, gave him 50 lakhs of rupees. Another of the events of this period was the dismissal of Haidar Beg Khan and the appointment of Mahbub Ali Khan to the chakildari of Korah. A résumé of the history of

Haider Beg Khán will not be out of place. His father was a native of Patahábád in Kabul, an ignorant and insignificant Pataqchi, and all the relatives of Haider Beg Khan to this day, whether born in Hindustan or in Patahábád, have not a spark of discretion, and persist in practices which even lower animals abhor, but he was himself a discreet man, wise, and of flexible disposition. He and his brother Nur Beg were jointly employed in some small way in the administration of this Subah, and both were notorious for extortion, oppression, selfishness and perfidy. In the days when Beni Bahadur was Naib, having acquired some reputation and wealth, they embezzled the revenue of their parganas, and for this reason the late Nawáb imprisoned them and pressed them to disgorge. The elder brother succumbed under the blows and kicks of bailiffs, and died from sun heat. Haider Beg Khán also was on the point of death when Bahár Ali Khán, taking pity on him, informed the Begam of his wretched condition. When this appeal was made to the Begam, she was overcome by that tenderness natural to women, and exerted herself to save him. Haider Beg Khán, having opened communication with the Begam, held out bribes to her followers. After a long interval he obtained the tahsildari of chakla Korah, and after a second disgrace, further embezzlements of his came to light. He was now to drink a cup of the old brew,* but Sayad Muhammad Khan, the brother of Mukhtarud Daulah, came to his aid and saved him from destruction.

* The original is the Persian proverb *Han dn, dsh dar kash ru bakár bud*

In Rajab of this year I came to Lucknow with Sayyad Zaman i Abidin Khán Tabá Tabáí, who had been invited by Mukhtár u d Daulah. The latter received him with respect and assigned him 2,000 horse and foot. In this place it seems proper to explain the connections which Zaman i Abidin Khan had with this Government. The said Khan was one of the famous Sayyids of Mashhad i Muqaddas, and proficient in arts and sciences, especially in the science of medicine, and Safdar Jang treated him with respect and deference. From the moment of his arrival in India he formed an intimacy with Muhammad Quli Khan and was inseparable from him. When Muhammad Quli Khán was imprisoned, he endeavoured to effect his release, but he failed, and fearing Shuja u d Daulah's power, he went off to Bengal.

I was born in 1166 A H, in the city of Lucknow. My maternal grandfather was Abul Hasan Beg Isfaháni, who was among the associates of Burhán u l Mulk from the beginning of his career. After that Nawab's death he renounced the world and led a private life. My father was Muhammad Beg, who, having come to Hindustan entered the military service of Safdar Jang and won his confidence. On the termination of the struggles between the Afghans and Raja Nawal Rai, when Muhammad Quli Khan was appointed naib of the Subah, my father was appointed in his retinue. A friendship and intimacy sprang up between them. For this reason when Safdar Jang came into this Subah, and Muhammad Quli Khán was appointed to Allahábád, my father, not wishing to part from him, went to Allahábád. After the arrest of Mu

hammad Quli Khan, Nawáb Shujá u'd Daulah endeavoured to conciliate my father, and maintained him as before in his civil and military 'charge. After two or three years, when the Nawab came again to Allahábád, and Mirza Najaf Khan fled from the camp, he distrusted my father also, and resolved to imprison him. My father, leaving all his goods and wealth on the spot, fled to Bengal. The Nawáb confiscated two lakhs of rupees in cash and property belonging to my father, and placed a guard over me, who was then in Lucknow. After a short time, out of regard for my family, he removed the guard and supplied money for my education, and treated me with favour. After two or three years, when my father sent for me, he permitted me to leave and sent me to Bengal. My father died a year after my arrival in Murs-hadabad. Then Zaimu'l Abdin and I spent five years honorably in Muzaffar Jang's suite in Bengal, until Mukhtaru'd Daulah induced me to return to Lucknow.

At this time Mr John Bristow asked Mukhtaru'd Daulah to give Benares to the Company as jagir. Mukhtaru'd Daulah, on the condition of receiving support in the seizure of Etawah and Bareilly, and of the recognition of the right to Allahábád, the income of which provinces was about Rs 1,50,00,000, and also with a view to securing his own position, which was dangerous and insecure on account of the caprices of his master and the nobles round him, considered it wise to comply with this request and induce Asafu'd Daulah by specious arguments to acquiesce, but the result was opposite to what he anticipated, as will be seen

from what follows. The hapless wretch involved himself and all his connections in calamity.

Another event of this year was the Nawáb's visit to Etáwah. This move was resolved upon, because Muhammad Iráj Khan, instead of exerting himself for the Nawáb's purposes, had begun to intrigue with Mirza Najaf Khán, and the Emperor delayed to confer on the Nawáb the dignity of Wazír, and also because the Nawáb desired to seize the territory of Ahmad Khán Bangash, who had died a few months before the late Nawáb. Accordingly, having made over the níabat of the Subah with the insignia of rule to Saiyad Muhammad Khán, the elder brother of Mukhtaru'd Daulah, he set out in that direction with all his forces in the month of Shawwál. When he arrived at the bank of the Ganges, and two divisions had crossed, and the third was still on this side, orders were given to disarm the third division, but the men prepared to fight, and demanded their pay. When an English force, which was then encamped at Bangarmau, came up, and with the first and second divisions prepared to attack them, the unfortunate men fled in disorder, and the two divisions which were left were at the advice of Mukhtaru'd Daulah handed over to the English officers for training. But the English officers were soon removed, and the discipline of these battalions was entrusted to Basant Ali Khan. On the Nawáb's entering Farrukhabad a yearly nazrana of 5½ lakhs was imposed on that province and continues to this day, and another sum in money and chattels having been levied by confiscation of Ahmad Khán's property, the Nawab moved on to Etawah, and remained there some months.

Many events happened at this time. Among these was the desertion of several of Najaf Khán's followers who came to the Nawab's camp. The cause of this was that Asafu'd Daulah, attributing to Zulfiqáru'd Daulah the non conferment of the dignity of Wazír, recalled while the siege of Díg was in progress, the auxiliaries, about 10,000 horse and foot, which Shuja'u'd Daulah had supplied to him. After this, by holding out bait to the officers of his camp, he gained them over and caused the dispersion of his force. Among those who swallowed the bait at this time was *Fatah Ali Khan Durraní*, who came over with five or six thousand well mounted horse and foot, and a well-appointed battery and camel guns and abundant stores. But after some time, being pressed for money, and seeing the Nawab's bad management, he sold all his property to the people in the camp for a trifling sum, and returned alone to his home. Zulfiqáru'd Daulah, notwithstanding these occurrences, did not despair but captured Díg. After this he induced the Emperor to confer on the Nawab the dignity of Wazír and thus put an end to all cause of quarrel. Zulfiqáru'd Daulah himself was created Náib Wazír.

1190 A. H.

[21st February, 1776—8th February, 1777.]

IN the beginning of this year occurred the removal of the two Goshains and the appointment of Zainu'l-Abdín Khán to the administration of the Duáb. At this time Gbátampúr, Akbarpúr-Birbar, and Akbarpúr-Sháh-púr, Rasúlábád, Sikandra Biláspur, and Phaphúnd, parganas of the Duáb yielding 15 or 16 lakhs, were made over to me by Zainu'l Abdín Khán. The Goshains were ordered to conquer the remaining portions of the Kalpi division and support their troops thereon. Anúpgír, who was the elder brother, regarded this gift, which involved the subjugation of a foreign territory and the collection of its revenues, as his death warrant, and so went off in disgust with most of his followers and joined the camp of Zulfiqáru'd Daulah. Umraogir remained with two or three thousand cavalry.

Another event of this year was the flight of Muhammad Bashír Khán. He was staying in Najibábád in the Bareli province, when an order came to the other officers in camp to arrest him. The Habshi regiment first of all proceeded to take him. When they had got near Muhammad Bashír Khán's tent he got notice and thought what he could do. Then Mír Bahádúr Ali, one of the Bárhá Saiyads, and Abdu'r Rahmán Khán, a Qandhári Afghan, came in to him. They were under obligations to him, and among his intimate friends. Mír Bahádúr Ali said: "Mount

be either disgraced or killed, appointed him to drive them off. Mukhtaru'd Daulah, seeing through this device, desired to pour oil on the troubled waters and pacify the excited regiments and gain them over to himself, but he could not succeed owing to the intrigues of these three men and the incitements of the matchlock regiments, who were in league with them. They refused to listen to Mukhtaru'd Daulah and drew up in line of battle. Mukhtaru'd Daulah's force was likely to be defeated, but some of their leaders were killed and the survivors fled. After this, when the treachery of Jhao L'al and Tapar Chand had come to light, the Nawab Wazir arrested both and handed them over to Mukhtaru'd Daulah and they remained in confinement until Mukhtaru'd Daulah's death.

Another important event which happened during this expedition was the murder of Mukhtaru'd Daulah and Basant. After the imprisonment of Jhao L'al and Tapar Chand, Basant, losing all faith in Asafu'd Daulah, began to think of his own safety. At this time Mirza Saadat Ali, who was in the camp denuded of all rank, acting on the suggestion of Tafazzul Husen Khan, employed as his tool Ajab Khan Afghan, a daring character of those days, an acquaintance of Tafazzul Husen Khan's, and a friend of Basant's, and through him began a conspiracy with Basant. After a deal of negotiation it was settled that Basant shou'd put Asafu'd Daulah and Mukhtaru'd Daulah out of the way, that Saadat Ali should succeed his brother, and Basant become his minister of war and finance, and that Ajab Khan should guarantee the death of both. Accordingly one day, when the Wazir was complain-

ing in Basant's presence about Mukhtār-ud Daulah, Basant, catching at the opportunity, obtained a kind of permission to kill him, and, resolving to kill them both, prepared a banquet with treacherous designs, and invited them both to it. Mukhtār-ud Daulah, who, notwithstanding the loss of his trusted officers and troops, was confident in his reliance on the English, showed himself reckless and incautious, and, being ignorant of the snare, went to the entertainment. The Wazir, although he was unaware of Basant's intention as to himself, made some excuse. Basant, being disconcerted at his denial, went to him three times at midday, and, expatiating on the splendour of his preparations and the amusements provided, pressed him to attend, but he could not succeed, for the Wazir's time had not come. Accordingly Basant, putting off his murder to another day, gave the signal for the murder of Mukhtār-ud Daulah to Fazl Ali and Talib Ali, friends of Ajab Khan, and to two others. Mukhtār-ud Daulah at this hour, on account of the great heat of the sun, dismissing his servants and followers to his tent, went down himself to an underground apartment and began to listen to music, when suddenly Mir Fazl Ali, stepping forward a couple of paces, killed him with a succession of rapid blows. Thereupon Basant sent word to Mirza Sa'adat Ali and the Gosham, who were among his accomplices, and told them he was going to the Darbār to kill the Wazir, and that they should mount their horses and come up with their supporters. He also ordered his two divisions to come up with guns. He then set out for the Wazir's tent with two regiments which were present

A wall had been drawn round the Wazir's tents because he was given to long sleeping, and one door had been left in the wall. This door had then been closed because of the murder which had been announced; and hence Basant did not obtain admittance unchallenged. The Wazir sent out word to him to come in alone. As he knew that the Wazir had no knowledge of his designs on him, and the murder of Muhtârû'd Daulah had been committed with his approval, he did not hesitate to go in alone, and taking with him Bade Mirza, a strong man, a relative of his own, who was under him dárogha of the Wazir's Diwân Khána, and a slave who was a second Bade Mirza in strength, he went into the Wazir's presence and made a sign to the officers of the two regiments to enter the Diwan Khana after him on a pretence which had been agreed on. When Basant came before the Wazir, the latter reflected that if Basant remained alive, his complicity in the murder of Muhtârû'd Daulah would become known and give rise to inquiries by the English, and he therefore gave the signal to some ten or fifteen men near him to despatch Basant, and Nawaz Sing, one of the Rajas on duty, dealt him a blow with a sword and felled him to the ground. Bade Mirza and the slave were stupefied and were unable to check Nawáz Sing. But when Nawaz Sing, after inflicting some more unnecessary blows on the corpse, placed his booted foot on its head, the blood of resentment boiled within Bade Mirza's heart and he drew his sword and killed him. Then the attendants of the Wazir one and all attacked Bade Mirza and the slave, but not finding themselves fit to face them, ran

into corners. Bade Mirza then going forward to the Wazir, as he had no evil intentions, said, "I have done thus deed out of my regard for Basant and I have no disloyal intention. I shall now leave this place only on condition that orders are given that no one shall kill me." The Wazir pledged his word. Bade Mirza left and went to his home. The two regiments that were prepared to enter, seeing Basant's head before them dispersed. Mirza Sa'adat Ali, coming up at this moment with some armed cavalry, was, like the regiments, unable to venture in, and, learning the fate of Basant, went off in despair to the tents of the Goshain for assistance. The Goshain, admitting that their plans had completely failed, gave him a swift mare and bade him fly. So Mirza Sa'adat Ali, flying forthwith from the army with Tafazzul Husen Khan, Bade Mirza, and the slave and some others, rested not till they had reached the Emperor's territory. An hour later the two divisions came up and demanded retribution for the murder of Basant and to be allowed to plunder Mukhtaru'd Daulah's tents. Yusuf Ali Khan, darogha of Mukhtaru'd Daulah's artillery, faithful to the deceased, put forward some guns and Mughal gunners to check them. The Wazir, notwithstanding the remonstrances of those near him, summoned up courage, went to the divisions, and by distributing presents to the officers, endeavoured to conciliate them. The tumult of the troops subsided. Anwar Ali Khan, who was Mukhtaru'd Daulah's Khwajasira and adviser, and without whom he would have been unequal to the duties demanded of him by the Wazir, conveyed his corpse to the suburbs of Etawah and

burying it there, lived a broken-hearted recluse. The officers of the army buried Basant's corpse with imposing ceremony and maintained crowds at his grave for many days after, and kept a cook and distributed food to the poor.

Another event was the appointment of Latifat Ali Khán as the Wazir's agent at the Emperor's Court. It came about in this way. The late Nawáb, leaving him and his troops in the province of Bareilly, assigned him maháls yielding fifteen lakhs of rupees, for the support of his troops. After Mukhtáru'd Daulah's death, the Wazir, when he made up his mind to return to Lucknow, resolved to select a man who should remain with a fitting retinue at the Emperor's Court. Latifat Ali Khán, who hoped to place himself beyond the reach of misfortune by removing himself to a distance from the Wazir, managed by bribery and intrigue to obtain this post. Having spent some years under the protection of Zulfiqáru'd Daulah, he was, in 1195 A. H., dismissed, and his jagir resumed. He and his cavalry entered the service of Zulfiqáru'd Daulah. On the death of the latter he thought himself safe, but Muhammad Beg Khán Hamdani, getting him into his power by some stratagem, put his eyes out at the order of Mirza Shafi, Khan. He is now dragging out a miserable existence in that neighbourhood.

Other events of this year were the appointment of Muhammad Iraj Khan as Naib and his death soon after, and then the offer of the appointment to, and the refusal of it by, Hasan Raza Khán and Haider Beg Khan Kabuli. The office of Naib may be said to have remained vacant for some time after Mukhtáru'd

Daulah's death, and Raja Jagannáth Diwan conducted the administration under the instructions of Mr Bristow. The Wazir wrote a friendly letter summoning Muhammad Iraj Khan, who, because he had no confidence in the Wazir, wrote to Mr Bristow that if he sent for him on his own responsibility, he would come, and if not, not. Mr Bristow reassured him. Muhammad Iraj Khán came with Muhammad Bashir Khán to the banks of the Ganges opposite Bangarmau. Here the ferrymen, at the instigation of Muhammad Iraj Khan, forbade Muhammad Bashir Khán to cross, and he returned to Etáwah. Muhammad Iraj Khán crossed and was invested with the dignity and duties of Naib Wazir. During the whole term of Iraj Khán's office, Muhammad Bashir Khán remained at Etawah. Afterwards, through the efforts of Mirza Hasan Raza Khan, he obtained permission to cross into Oudh. Not long afterwards he was attacked by catáct and retired into private life on the income of the jagír which had been assigned him. He is still alive in Lucknow. Further, Muhammad Iraj Khán, when he was in power, fearing that on him should be avenged Mukhtáru'd Daulah's death, removed Saiyad Mu'azzaz Khán from Allahabad, as well his elder brother Saiyad Muhammad Khán, who was a dismissed Naib of the Subáh, and he imprisoned all the relatives and *protegs* of Mukhtáru'd Daulah, and as long as he lived, his sole object was their persecution. Afterwards, when Mr. Bristow said something to him in their favor, he replied "According to the agreement which has been ratified between our two powers, you have no right to interfere in the affairs of

this State Drop this subject If you do not, you will have to furnish an explanation to our agent through the Council in Calcutta' Mr Bristow, when he heard this answer, regretted much having summoned him, and became silent Muhammad Iraj Khán was seized by dropsy about this time and died, and his lying swagger ceased

Among the events of Muhammad Iraj Khán's administration was the disbanding of the remaining regiments of the old divisions This happened thus The Wazír, on his return from Etawah, gave commands to English officers in the regiments in Basant's camp and left them behind. The commandants and subordinate officers, who were habitually disobedient and had received hints from the Wazír's officials to be disobedient, evinced unwillingness to carry out orders Accordingly the arrangement did not work Some regiments which were in the neighbourhood of Etawah and attached to the force cantoned at Farrukhábád mutinied, imprisoned their officers extorted their pay from them, and went off with their muskets and guns and joined Najaf Khán's camp, some other regiments in that quarter dispersed, leaving their equipments behind Their commandants, who came to Lucknow, were blown from the guns These events caused great alarm to the English officers who were in command of them Indeed, many of them during this émeute were looted in their flight and were killed by the zamíndárs of the Duáb One of them, Major Howe, took refuge wit' me in Fírhund, remained for some days, and was conveyed to a place of safety After that the English officers enlisted new recruits instead of the

mutineers and raised their regiments to full strength. The general command of them was given to Colonel Gower.

The nine or ten thousand troops who were with Mahbub Ali Khan in Korah were also disbanded. After the mutiny of the other regiments, the Wazir suspected these also and detached an English officer secretly to disarm them. This officer, with four regiments disguised as travellers, came within a short distance of Mahbub Ali Khan's camp, and obtained an interview with him, and then, drawing out his men at night, ordered an assault, advanced close up to the camp and suddenly opened fire with musketry and cannon. As Mahbub resided in the city and the camp was without officers and no one was prepared except the sentries on guard, the whole body being taken by surprise took to flight. Their equipments and valuables were plundered by the scoundrels of the camp, and Mahbub, seeing nothing left but to submit, went to Lucknow. On his arrival a jagir was assigned to him for his support, and he spent some years in comfort. This jagir was eventually resumed and he then moved with some others to Shahjahanabad. From thence he went after some years to Makka and died there. The chakla of Korah was given, on Haidar Beg Khan's recommendation, to Almas Ali Khan. Through the oppressions of his naib Basti Ram the revenue fell from twenty lakhs to six or seven. Finally, after Iraj Khan's death, Mirza Hasan Raza Khan, already mentioned, who had by this time become a public and private friend of the Wazir, and a channel of communication between the Wazir and Mr Bristow, was ap-

pointed to fill the post of Náib, but inasmuch as he was without administrative experience, Mr Bristow recommended that another person who had practical experience should be selected and made his cordjutor. Hereupon Ismá'il Beg Shurah, a vagrant from the bazars of Iran, and hence utterly without faith or honesty, or a thought either for the public good or his master's welfare, who was at this time Mr Bristow's *factotum* and one of his confidants, actuated by the hope of some imaginary gain, instead of which he reaped loss and ruin, recommended Haidar Beg Khan Kabuli to Mr Bristow. Mr. Bristow was deceived by his plausibility, flattery, and misrepresentations—arts in which he was a master—and the dignity of Náib-i Kuli was conferred on Hasan Razi Khán, and that of Náib-i Mulk on Haidar Beg Khán. Tikait Rai was appointed by Hasan Razi Khán peshkar and superintendent of accounts. As Rája Jagannáth had previously been confirmed in the appointment of Diwan, Haidar Beg Khán did not consider himself his equal, and referred most of his papers to Tikait Rai. Hence the clerks became undisciplined, and Tikait Rai obtained complete control. This Tikait Rai was a villager's son, and in the time of the late Nawáb was a servant on Rs 15 a month of Khush Nazar Khwájasará, who was tahvildar of the jewel house. While in this employment he was guilty of embezzlement, and was imprisoned during the life of the late Nawáb, but after his death was released and became servant of Akbar Ali Khán, dárogah of Mukhtaru'd Daulah's Diwan Khana, and thus became acquainted with Anwar Ali Khan, who

was Mukhtaru d Daulah's *factotum* then, becoming familiar with him by his buffoonery and tale bearing, he began to meddle with every one's affairs, and because he had rendered some little service to Hasan Raza Khán, he was now raised to this dignity

At the end of this year Mr Bristow was removed and Mr Middleton was appointed a second time to Lucknow, and notwithstanding the obligations which have been mentioned under which Haider Beg Khán lay to Mr. Bristow, he caused him much annoyance at the time of his departure This unworthy conduct of Haider Beg Khán's was not with a view to extort any gain, but was the outcome of his natural disposition, for whoever treated him well he returned him evil This statement is proved by the cases of the Nawáb Begam, Bahár Ali Khán, Murtaza Khán, Saiyad Muhammad Khán, Mr Johnson, Mr Bristow, and Major Palmer, who were all his benefactors, and their cases will be stated The treatment with which he requited the help he received from Tafazzul Hasan Khán arose from a cause which will be detailed

1191 A. H.

[9th February, 1777—29th January, 1778]

IN this year Colonel Gower was sent into the Duab with his contingent, which was in the service of the Wazir, with orders to raze the forts of the refractory zamíndárs and break their power. He first came to Korah. Basti Ram, the Náib of Almas Ali Khán, who, on account of his great oppression, was nicknamed Ujár Rám, sacrificed some zamíndárs instead of the really refractory leaders. Then he moved to the districts under Zaimu'l Abdín Khán, and, while he was there, something happened which caused the English uneasiness and resulted in the cancelment of the order. It was this. There was in the pargana of Talgám a ta'luqdár named Patah Chand Patak. He paid five or six thousand rupees of revenue and had a zamíndári income of about equal amount. Carried away by the conceit of youth and by natural daring, he used sometimes to prove refractory. The Colonel surrounded his fort, which was in an open plain and weakly fortified. After three days, when they had made a breach, the Colonel gave orders for an assault. The Pátak sallying out with 3,000 men from his fort, attempted to make his escape at the point where the Colonel himself was. The soldiers resisted his passage, and a severe fight ensued in which about 400 privates and 10 British officers were killed. The Pátak escaped from the field unhurt.

In this year Haidar Beg Khán removed Surat Singh, who used to collect nearly 70 lakhs from the Bareilly Division, and entrusted it to Kundan Lal and

two or three Kayaths, who were *protégés* of the Ruhlala family and residents of that country.* They remained in office two years, and during that time they sent numbers of cultivators from that district into Faizulla Khán's territory. To that period the beginning of the depopulation of Rohilkhand is referred. The Kayaths were imprisoned for their embezzlements and died in confinement, and large sums which they owed to bankers and traders remained unpaid. The only cause for the removal of Surat Singh was the Náib's private greed.

In the same year the contingent under Mian Afris, who was an associate of the Wazir's eunuchs and at this time among his intimates, was also disbanded. They were some thousands of horse and many foot. The younger Goshain, who had remained in the Subah with two or three thousand horse, desired to join Zulfiqár'ud Daulah's force, and crossed the Ganges. When he arrived at the Bithur Ghát on the banks of the Ganges, he seized several relatives of Tapar Chand Khazánchi, who had come there to bathe, and carried them off. He had got seven days' journey beyond the Wazir's jurisdiction before the order for their release arrived. No one had courage to stop him and the Khazánchi's relatives remained some years his prisoners until at last Tapar Chand gave the Goshain his pay and procured their release.

In this year the dismissal and ruin of Zaim'n'l Abdin took place. It should be noted that Haidar Beg Khan from the beginning of his career, though feigning loyalty, was bent for years on avenging his brother's death on Shujá'u'd Daulah's descendants, and was

determined not to let a vestige of them survive. For this reason he was unintermittingly bent on disbanding the troops and ruining the inhabitants of the country. He used to get rid of every old and respectable official and employ in his stead some mean man of low origin, and he did not put forward the equal of any one whom he removed. If any of the English desired to interfere for the reform of affairs, he prevented them, until no one remained to check him and he established himself supreme. He had an eye solely to his own interests. Remembering, however, these lines —

Burn me not for God can limit
The range of thy resentful ire
When the fuel is exhausted
The flame unfed must then expire

he relinquished his first designs so far as to let the remnant of them (Shujân'd Daulah's descendants) be. He was really a prudent man and understood business so, why else than for this reason was he guilty of this bad administration?

In short, Haidar Beg Khân, who desired the ruin and disgrace of Zainu'l Abdîn Khân, called him to Lucknow at the very season of revenue collection, and began to negotiate with others for the administration of the Duâb. This led the zamîndârs to play a waiting game and the collection of revenue fell into arrears. Afterwards he let him return and put forward Alim Ali Khan in Baisâkh as a candidate for the post, and Basti Ram, Naib of Korah, showing a want of prudence, then informed most of the zamîndârs of this move. Some letters of Basti Râm's, bearing his seal, were intercepted and sent to Lucknow. As he had acted at Haidar Beg Khan's instigation, no notice was

taken of this. But the rains had not set in before Haidar Beg Khan thought of another expedient and proceeded to put his intention into execution. It was this Isma'il Beg Shurah at his suggestion informed Mr Middleton that Zainu'l Abdin had sent for his family from Murshadábád, and that they had left Allahábád and were about to arrive at Etáwah, that, on their arrival, Zainu'l Abdin would join Zulfiqár Khán's camp with 12,000 horse and foot and artillery and the revenue he had collected. Therefore Haidar Beg Khán sent Basti Ram an order to seize Zainu'l Abdin Khan's family and at the same time dismissed the Khán. The fact is, that Zainu'l Abdin's family was coming by Haidar Beg's own order on the Gumti, and arrived in Lucknow a month after his dismissal, and all that Isma'il Beg told was false. In fine, after his removal, Haidar Beg gave those maháls, which had yielded some years previously 52 lakhs, and in my time 45 lakhs, for something over 30 lakhs to Almás Ali Khán, who remained there for some years continuously, and eventually effected a reduction to 25 lakhs. Zainu'l Abdin Khan's cavalry, some 10,000 men, were also made over to Almás Ali Khán, and Haidar Beg having made out that Zainu'l Abdin owed six or seven lakhs, wished to imprison him, but certain circumstances prevented his doing so. After some months Zainu'l Abdin died of chagrin and rage.

In the course of these changes, I suffered severely. The way was this. As I had charge of the maháls round Korah and I was all the year on bad terms with Basti Ram, he embraced this chance and instigated the refractory zamíndars of those maháls to plunder

me Accordingly, in the space of three or four days, 10,000 Rajputs collected round the cantonment of Ghatampur, but as there were round the cantonments small mounds of earth like bastions, I had in my turn strengthened the place by digging ditches from the one to the other, on pretence of making a trench into which to shoot rubbish. This fortification prevented their ingress. I remained on the alert under arms night and day for fifteen days, with four or five hundred sepoys prepared to die. After that I made arrangements to leave, and I gave out that I would next morning set out along the Musanagar road, a difficult road west of Ghatampur, for the ghat at Kannauj, which was the passage Zainu'l Abidin would take on his return from Etawah, and that I would fight any one who opposed my journey. My real intention was to proceed via Korah, which lies east of Ghatampur, to Lucknow, and there have an interview with Zainu'l Abidin. The Rajputs were misled and stationed themselves to a man along the other road during the night and lay in ambush for me. In the morning, when the whole of my baggage had been loaded and sent on in the direction of Korah, I and my companions, with three or four guns, got between the baggage and the Rajput leaders, who had with them about a thousand or two thousand men, and when the baggage had got on about a *kos* in advance, I set out slowly, maintaining a musketry fire as I went. On discovering this move, the Rajputs were amazed, and, hoping to ensnare by the grains of fair speech the prey that had escaped them, sent a messenger saying "Your departure is a cause of disgrace to us. It is better for you

to leave your baggage behind and travel along the road which leads you to a ford after a journey of two or three stages in our territory, so that we may treat you hospitably and show our fidelity" I replied that I could not rely on their word, that if they were in earnest they should send certain of their leaders into my camp as a condition of my complying with their wish. These leaders, impelled by intense greed and presumption, came. I continued parleying with them, as I went on my way, until we came in sight of Korah, and the Rájput leaders grew very uneasy and begged to be allowed to depart. They fancied that I would hand them over to the ámil, Basti Rám, and thus securing my own escape from him, go on to Lucknow. I demanded from them the payment of arrears of revenue, and having after some negotiation, gotten ten thousand rupees out of them, I let them go. Basti Rám, when he saw my boldness and resource, dropped his enmity and made me his guest. Next day I crossed by the ghat of Shiurápur and went on to Lucknow. Here what I had managed to do when in this strait, enhanced my reputation. After my arrival in Lucknow Haidar Beg Khán sent word to me, advising me to desert Zaiñu'l Abdín and come over to his side. I replied that I would not. This was the first circumstance that caused him to take a dislike to me. Another cause rose out of the disbanding of Saiyad Jamálu'd dín Khán's cavalry and the Túrání horse. The most of those skilful horsemen with horses in prime condition, who had been attached to me in the Duáb, went on their dismissal into Zulfiqáru'd Daulah's camp.

1192 A H

[30th January, 1778—18th January, 1779]

I BELIEVE it was in this year that Mirza Sa'adat Ali returned from Akbarābād to Lucknow. This happened thus. When the Mirza left Etāwah and entered Zulfiqaru'd Daulah's camp, the latter treated him with marked attention, reassured him, and gave him the pargana of Bāna for his support, and incited him to seize the country on the other side of the Chambal. A vast number of deserters from the Wazir's army and others gathered round him and went to his pargana. But in a fight with one of the zamindars of the pargana he sustained a reverse and returned to Akbarābād.

Then he sent Rahmatullah Khan, brother of Tafazzul Husen Khān, to Mr. Bristow and asked permission to return to the Subah (Lucknow). After some time, having obtained permission, he came to Lucknow, and after an interview with his brother, went on to Benares, and he continues to reside there up to the present, and the two or three lakhs which he derives as a fixed income from the Subah, he draws without trouble through the English officials.

Tafazzul Husen Khān left the service of Sa'adat Ali in the course of this journey and went to Gauda. From there he went to Calcutta, and through the influence of Major Palmer obtained service from Governor Hastings. He was appointed to accompany Mr. Anderson, when he was nominated mediator in the affairs of the Patel, and after the conclusion of that

peace, which proved the source of hundreds of quarrels, up to the time that he became the associate of *Haider Beg Khán*, he was the companion and adviser of Major Palmer on every occasion and in every affair. This will be mentioned in its proper place.

It was, I believe in the same year that *Mirza Jangali*, who has been already mentioned, being hard up for money, went off and joined *Zulfiqar'u'd Daulah*, and the *Amir ul Umara*, considering his accession an advantage provided him with ample means. *Mirza Jangali* remained in that quarter as long as *Zulfiqar'u'd Daulah* lived and for a long time afterwards. In 1207 A H, I think it was, he turned again to Lucknow.

It should be stated that *Haider Beg Khan*, of all servants, inflicted the most annoyance on the descendants of the late *Nawáb*. For instance, the sons of the deceased, who are in Lucknow, although each is allotted a thousand rupees a month, are starving owing to his breaches of faith, his dodging and his affronts. The women of his palace, who are in *Faizábád*, are sometimes so overpowered by hunger, because of the delay in paying their allowances, that a hundred or two hundred females make a raid from the *haram-sara*, loot the bazar and carry back with them grain and other necessities. Up to the present no one has arranged for the marriage of any of his daughters, because funds are not found, and the *Nawáb i-'Aliya*, *Si'uja'ud Daulah's* mother, who had even in his time had nothing to do with his son's affairs, and who managed to live contentedly but with difficulty on a *jagir* of one lakh, was unable to provide for so great a number, nay, as long as she lived, she grudged nothing to them, and

after her death their condition became pitiable. The Nawáb Begam, who has a vast jágir and an immense income, owing to her hardheartedness and insensibility to shame, and her want of leisure from her own pursuits, which are not fit to be mentioned, does not give a thought to the welfare of that side of the house. Worse than all, when a son of the deceased, impelled by hunger, went to Calcutta, and the Governor proceeded to advise the Wazír, the Wazír replied, "It is the cravings of youthful folly which have led the youth to go there, you should calm him down and send him back to me." Where is the painful craving of violent hunger and where the folly and pride of youth? It is a thousand leagues from love to patience.

It must be remembered that this closeness of the Wazír and Haidar Beg Khan in their treatment of those who had claims on them is a fact, but the extravagance of their own expenditure was so great that their waste would support an army. A trifle only of this extravagance is incurred during the whole of Phágun at the Holi, in the Wazír's carnival, and marriages and illuminations, and each year five or six lakhs are set apart for these customary celebrations, and similar expenses are incurred in the Mubarram, and the expenditure on his elephants, his stables, and kennels may be imagined when it is stated that he has twelve hundred elephants, two or three thousand horses and a thousand dogs to feed. Of these, 400 elephants, 500 horses and a hundred dogs are fit for riding or the chase, and the rest are good for nothing. The others are kept by dishonest servants for purposes of peculation, so that if a dog die, they procure another from the streets

and put a collar on him. The expenditure on the Wazir's pigeon-house, cockpits, sheep-folds, deer park, monkey, snake, scorpion, and spider houses, is so great that, if they were carefully managed, the money would suffice for the maintenance of all the children of the late Nawáb and of his women, for 300,000 pigeons and fighting cocks are kept, and there are some snakes a pair of which eat a maund of flesh. All things are fondly cared for by the Wazir save men, especially his relatives and old dependents. Another expense is the pay of the Wazir's household servants, who number thousands, including 2,000 farráshes, 100 chobdárs and khidmatgárs, and 4,000 gardeners and hundreds of cooks. His cook-room costs Rs 2,000 or 3,000 per diem, and the loose and idle characters whom he has with him on his tour, carrying baggage, camp furniture, and tents, amount to a thousand, who receive their daily bread as wages. His expenses pass description. The prodigality of Haidar Beg Khan may be guessed when, after his death, Tilait Rai set down his table expenses at 50 lakhs, and this foolish expenditure was not confined to the Wazir and Haidar Beg or to Mirza Hasan Raza Khán and Tikait Rai, but every one who had anything to do with Government or revenue collection, was appointed to his post without fear of being called to account. Accordingly Fatah Ali, chela of Almás Ali, constructed so many sarais, tanks, mosques, and temples that he cannot himself have met the cost, and the expenses of Almás Ali Khán, and of each of some officials and friends of Tikait Rai, are as great as used to be the case with all their agents and dependents, so that

this waste was not confined to them only, but was the general rule in matters of food and clothing, buildings, amusements, and all expenses of both males and females. Men of position in Lucknow are not so affected by slenderness of income as to feel themselves thereby straitened, for if they are close-handed in matters of clothing and on occasions of weddings and funerals, they are reckoned among the lower orders of society. If they spend lavishly, they must have money. Hence under the pressure of necessity they have resorted to swindling, and whole families have been ruined.

Another of the events of this year was the leasing of the whole country of Sarwar to Colonel Hannay, and the beginning of my connection with it. This came about thus. The Colonel applied to Haidar Beg Khan to place at his disposal the services of some trustworthy and experienced administrators of this Subah, who might assist him in managing the country. Haidar Beg nominated six persons, of whom I was one. As the Colonel's rigour and ill-temper and Haidar Beg Khan's ill treatment of the friends of the English were notorious, I declined to join the Colonel and begged to be excused the service, but Haidar Beg Khan, hoping that I might be disgraced by the Colonel in his wrath, and that he might thus pry me off for my former non-compliance with his wishes in the case of Zaimu l Abidin, would not listen to my representation, but said that I must serve the Colonel according to the Wazir's orders.

Accordingly, I complied, at the time unwillingly and under compulsion, with this order, which was the beginning and cause of my acquaintance and connec-

tion with the English. Notwithstanding this, Haidar Beg Khán and his party gave out that the English knew but little of me, and the people were turned against me, but they were too ashamed to avow their own connection with the English as it was intended to solely further their personal interests.

Let every one judge of the facts for himself. To be brief, the other five persons who had an advantage over me by Haidar Beg's protection were turned off by the Colonel, some for embezzlement, some for idleness, and others for incompetence. The Colonel conceived a strong liking for me because I was circumspect night and day from a sense of independence and self respect, and I showed no greed for money, so that eventually he left in my hands all the affairs of his troops and of the revenue administration, amounting to forty lakhs of rupees, and fixed my salary at one thousand rupees per mensem from his private purse, but I declined to take pay as a servant, and said I should prefer some mark of favor at the end of the year if he continued satisfied with me. I meant by this that even should he continue satisfied with me at the end of the year, I should escape even this remuneration, and that, if in the meantime I should do anything which would displease him, I could, as I was working for him without pay, excuse myself and appease him by declining all reward. This device proved very useful. Three years passed in friendship and concord, and whatever fault my subordinates committed in administration, the Colonel, owing to his great confidence in me, attributed nothing to me and held them alone responsible, but, during that period, matters were ripen-

ing which caused dissatisfaction to Haidar Beg Khán and Tikait Rai. They are as follows :—

In the pargana of Hisámpúr there was a ta'luqa comprising ninety mauza's, of which a part of each was in the ta'luqa and the rest belonged to zamíndárs. The ta'luqdár, abetted by Haidar Beg Khán, had taken possession of a large quantity of uncultivated land belonging to the zamíndárs and used to pay Rs 5,000 for it into the hazur tahsil, and used to divide the profits of it with his abettor. As this ta'luqa was among the lands excluded from the Colonel's lease, the Colonel collected Rs 50,000 after survey and measurement from the ta'luqa and ousted the ta'luqdár from the land he had wrongfully seized, and in this way he dealt with all abettors and accomplices of Haidar Beg Khán and Tikait Rai, many of whom there were among the ta'luqdárs and zamíndárs of those parts. Since the Colonel carried out all his plans through me, Haidar Beg Khán and Tikait Rai, although they knew perfectly well that, the Colonel being a thorough business man, his agent could not interfere with his resolution, blamed me for all his actions. They regretted the introduction they had given me to the Colonel and cherished malicious intentions regarding me.

Another event was the appointment of Ismá'il Beg Shurah to the Subah of Allahábad. The explanation of that is this. Ismá'il Beg, on pretences connected with the despatch of mails and through Mr. Middleton's and Haidar Beg Khán's friendship, used to interfere with the officials of that Subah. At first this meddling went only so far that he levied black-mail from every official by working on his fears and hopes

through false reports, and by the same means he obtained douceurs from the Wazir and all his servants. Afterwards, when he had scraped large sums of money together, he used to pay for an *amil* the *qist* in advance, which was a condition prior to his confirmation in his appointment, and then, notwithstanding that he took four per cent interest, he used to take possession of the *amil's* *i'lāqa*. In this way he built up a large *ta'luqa* in Allahābād, and his whole heart was set upon it, when the administration of the Allahābād district was handed over at a fair *jama* to Mirza Muhammad Hasan, an unsophisticated man, a Persian noble, resident at Benares. Ismā'il Beg Shurah paid for him the *qist* in advance and became his agent at head-quarters, took the profits for himself and tricked him. This he managed thus. When Mirza Muhammad Hasan was going away, he left some blank papers with his seal affixed in Ismā'il Beg's care, that he might not in emergent cases have to wait for a letter from him from Allahābād. Ismā'il Beg, after two or three months, without giving notice to Mirza Muhammad Hasan, brought about an inquiry as to his mismanagement. Replies were sent. When they were not accepted by the Nawab, Isma'il Beg wrote a forged resignation of the Mirza's appointment on one of those papers and tendered it to Mr Middleton. In this way the unfortunate Mirza Muhammad Hasan was dismissed and Isma'il Beg was appointed in his stead on Haidar Beg Khān's nomination. But Haidar Beg Khān's motive in nominating him was not to befriend him, for he entertained doubts of him, that as he had recommended him to Mr. Bristow, he might now re-

commend another to Mr. Middleton. It must be noted that Haidar Beg Khán brought many men to ruin while feigning friendship for them and nominating them to appointments. He never rendered any one any assistance after procuring his appointment, and the knowledge of his indifference caused the zamíndárs and the troops appointed with his nominee to prove refractory, until the victim fell into arrears and was imprisoned and disgraced. But the circumstances of Allahábád were not such as to require the attention of Haidar Beg Khán, and it was only Isma'íl Beg's folly that caused his overthrow. He was greedy to acquire zamíndári, and when any zamíndár fell into arrears of revenue, he induced him to write a deed of sale to him in lieu of that arrear and some cash, and hence most zamíndárs of the Subáh spent their money and fell into arrears, and knowing that Isma'íl Beg could not lift up their land and carry it away, they executed deeds of sale and gave them to the fool. After two years Isma'íl Beg was imprisoned for arrears and was kept in prison for a long time by Haidar Beg, until Mr. Johnson, in 1196 A. H., who was bent on clipping Haidar Beg's wings, released him and sent him again to Allahábád, where he held the same position for two years more, and after that went with Mr. Bristow to Bengal.

No 1193 A H. •

[19th January, 1779—7th January, 1780].

In this year Khwaja 'Ainu'd Din, was appointed to the province of Bareli. This happened thus. When Haidar Beg Khan had become secure in his position and gradually grew insolent, and was careless about remitting the Company's instalments, Mr Middleton, to stop his insolence, put forward Shaikh Shafi'ullah, one of the friends of Iraj Khan, and appointed his gomashas over Haidar Beg Khan's collectors to gather in revenue but, as Shafi'ullah was a covetous and imprudent man, Haidar Beg Khan exposed the blunders and dishonesty of his gomashas and procured their removal. Khwaja 'Ainu'd Din was one of these gomashas, and was the sazáwal over Kundan L'al aforementioned. As he had kept Haidar Beg Khan in good humour with him in this interval, he was now appointed collector of Bareli, and was maintained there for five or six years, notwithstanding that he caused notorious ruin. He was in 1197 A H dismissed on Mr Bristow's persistent representations. This 'Ainu'd Din, one of the companions of Khádím Hasan Khan Bangáli, was an odd character. To show his indifference to the world, there were thousands upon thousands of scoundrel beggars maintained by him in his camp, and once a day he used to walk about among them naked with a stick in his hand, and give each of them a copper with his own hand and indulge in banter with them. He was so vile tongued and foul mouthed, that the crowd of them, notwithstanding

their absence of restraint were not his match. To make a show of generosity, he used every year, after the 10th of Muharram, to scramble his household furniture, and refuse no one who asked him for a present. If any one asked for a great sum, he wrote the amount on a slip of paper and put it with fifty other slips marked half for smaller and half for larger sums, and gambled for them as Europeans do with one another. In short, his waste from the date of his dismissal to his death in 1209 A H, as far as the public could observe it, amounted to 40 or 50 lakhs of rupees.

Another event of this year was the death of Mirza Ali Khan, owing to the bad climate of Almuhra. The Wazir, from the beginning of his rule, considered two tours incumbent on him every year. One was at the conclusion of the rains, sometimes to Almuhra and sometimes to Butwal, and at this season of the year both these places are like Jahannam for the inclemency of the climate and the difficulties of transit. For this reason, thousands of camp followers die every year in this tour, and it is impossible to describe the hardships which they endure in crossing ravines and traversing the heights and hollows, and the passes of mountain and forest. In these places the Wazir's personal servants and followers march first, then the able-bodied members of his escort, and last the invalids. The three parties become jammed, and for a time are unable to find roadway. The Wazir's personal servants stand at the head of the crowd battering with sticks, and in the same way the able-bodied men of the escort. In this confusion men are unable for two or three days to attend to their necessities and lie on

the ground in the open air without food. The price of grain also is under these circumstances, and at all such times, twice as high as at Lucknow, and luxuries of food, such as fruit and the like, cannot be had. If rain happens to fall at this season, there is a tumult as of the resurrection in the camp, and thousands of horses, bullocks, camels, and men are seized with fatal illness. Then, if a camel falls in the mud, all at once so many men tumble over it that the camel sinks, load and all, into the earth and causes a block in the path. In the year 1210 A. H. I was present on a tour of this kind as far as to Faizábád, and saw all the incidents of the camp. The following is a brief narrative —

In the rains of that year the Wazír, having dismissed Tikait Rai, told Mr. Cherry that he would himself look into the affairs of the province. The rains now stopped, and he determined to go to Butwal. Mr. Cherry said that things could wait, and there was still some prospect of rain, that the Wazír would do well to postpone his determination. The Wazír replied that he would take his ministerial officers with him as far as Faizabád, and on the way decide some matters which were pending, then send back the ministerial establishment, and act afterwards as Mr. Cherry advised. In the second stage, high winds and heavy rain set in and, owing to the great number of elephants and cannon, the whole road became a slough of mud, and the two remaining stages were traversed in six days with indescribable difficulty. From Darabád to Faizábád it seemed as if dead horses, bullocks, camels, and men had been sown in the mud. When I arrived

in Faizábád, most people who could not be accommodated at the Asaf Bágh, the Wazír's residence, pitched their tents in a place where the mud was a cubit and a half deep, tied their animals to long poles and stood holding on to the ropes on the inside of their tents, owing to the violence of the wind and rain. When this state of things had lasted for fifteen days, the Wazír was no longer able to endure it, and ordered the camp to cross the Ghágra. The bridge they had thrown across the river broke that night, and the boatmen said they could not construct it again. Messengers brought in word that the water was several feet deep in the places where they had gone hunting the previous year, and that the mauza' where the Wazír's tents had been separately pitched was under water. The Wazír, believing the story of the messengers to be untrue and to have been concocted by them with the leaders in the camp, ordered, while the rain was still actually falling, that the camp should cross in boats. Jhao L'al appointed his sazáwals to watch the men, and himself stood at the ghát for five days in all the rain, and superintended the transport of the troops. Every time that a boat attempted to cross, the passengers despaired of their lives owing to the turbulence, roughness, and rapidity of the Ghágra, which is in these respects more especially dangerous than other rivers. In those five days several boats and elephants were lost. On the sixth day the Wazír, when he heard that half the camp had crossed the river, determined to go over. It happened that the pegs of the tents had become loose from the heavy rains, and the kahárs were holding the tents up with

their hands. Next morning he desired to move the tents to another place. He searched on both sides for some miles, but not a place was found. Accordingly he returned, and gave orders for withdrawal to Faizábád. They returned with the same difficulty they had gone. After some days, when the rains ceased, he again undertook the passage by boats and completed his journey.

Furthermore, in the tour at this season, there are a hundred *mast* elephants in the camp, and sometimes while they are marching, or when they break from their tether or get beyond the control of their mahants they kill people, and the drivers often tie their elephants near the tents of the Wazir's courtiers, and by this trick get money from them for their removal, and these persons are subjected to the same infliction night and day without intermission for two or three months.

The second tour is made to Bahraich in the very height of the hot season, and although this tour does not last over a month and a half, yet horses, cattle, and men die in numbers from the excessive heat of the sun. As the Wazir indulges in opium, he sleeps until very late in the morning, and then eats breakfast and starts on his march after a full watch of the day has passed, and travelling in a palankeen made of khas which water carriers keep sprinkling on all sides, he arrives at his halting-place some time after midday. Here so many tents of khas and movable pavilions of grass are pitched, that the severe cold gives ague to any one who sits down, and it is only those who have experienced the pain know what men then suffer.

A greater hardship still is, that every grove which is under or near his camp is kept exclusively reserved for the domestic uses of the Wazir and for his stables, and if any grove be unoccupied, no one pitches in it, for if the Wazir sees a tent, he drives the owner of the tent out of the country. This order prevails from a jealousy of the comfort of other men, which is a natural characteristic of his, and which is not more especially exemplified on his tours than at his fixed residence. A proof of this is his prohibition of certain articles, one of which is ice. Although the ice manufacturers have frequently represented to him that if he would allow them to sell ice, they would manufacture an even greater stock for him than they were doing, and their expenses would be less, he has refused to allow them. Although he possesses hundreds of gardens in Lucknow and Fuzábad, and in the suburbs of both cities, and they yield such quantities of fruit and flowers that hundreds of low castemen among his orderlies gather them, and there is still to spare, yet fruit and flowers decay, fall, and are thrown away. In the mango season he attaches all the groves of the residents of Lucknow and Fuzábad, and in this way many houses of the poor are plundered by the píadas who are appointed to confiscate the produce of the groves. The restriction on the sale of keora and roses, and all perfumes is so strict, that people importessence of keora from Bengal, and the better classes at the marriages of their children make garlands of flowers gathered from the jungles and put them round the necks of their guests, for the sale of wild flowers is forbidden in the city. Rare foods are

1190 A H

[28th December, 1780—16th December, 1781]

IN this year Mr Bristow arrived in Calcutta on his return from England, with the appointment to Lucknow, and proceeded from Calcutta to Lucknow. Mr Parling was removed, and Haidar Beg Khán quaked for some time on account of his conduct, but was put at his ease when Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson were subsequently associated with Mr Bristow. Therafter Mr Bristow became merely a post office for the transmission of letters on matters affecting the affairs of the Company, and the negotiations between the Governor and the Wazir, and the collection of money and the payment of it to the troops, were all entrusted to the other two.

As Haidar Beg Khan had no regard for Mr Bristow Mr Bristow's influence was gone, and being unable to put up with his insolence, he returned to Calcutta. The other two, Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson, remained in undisputed possession.

About this time the dispute between Chet Singh and Governor Hastings came to a crisis, and for this reason great disturbance arose in the Wazir's dominions and thousands of people were slain by the zamindárs. In this exigency Haidar Beg Khan had arrived with a disciplined force within a few kos of Benares, but owing to his natural cowardice he could not venture to go to the Governor. He opened up communications with Chet Singh also, for he considered it politic and prudent to do so, in order that

he might eventually join the side which he found prevailing, but the Wazir was some stages behind Haidar Beg Khan, and when he heard of this conduct of his, Salar Jang, the little wit, and several associates of the Wazir, enemies of his house, and his mother and the two Khwajasaras, advised the Wazir to return to his own country and pay attention to its affairs. They said 'Mr Hastings and all the English have been disposed of, what necessity is there for us to get ourselves into trouble?' But the Wazir turned a deaf ear to the fools, and plucking up courage, joined the Governor in Benares. After the termination of this disturbance at Benares, the Wazir took leave of the Governor and returned to Lucknow. On the occasion of this visit, Haidar Beg Khan gained a number of concessions from the Governor, as he was pleased with the Wazir: first, an order for the dismissal of all the English officers who were in command of the Wazir's regiments,* and for disbanding the regiments themselves, and for the removal and expulsion of every Englishman employed under the Lucknow Government, whether on the recommendation of the Governor or any one else; second, permission to dismiss from pargana Arfaul Major Osborne, who had been employed in reducing the country of the Bundelas and had wrested many parganas from them after severe fighting; another, the reduction of the pay of the force under Colonel Gower who had gone to the Dakhin.

In this year also, Colonel Hannay was removed from the districts of Sarwar, and 'Abdullah Beg appointed in his place. This 'Abdullah had been a Turk sarwar in

the Company's service, and came after his dismissal to Lucknow, and through Mr Bristow's influence was appointed Sazáwal of Farrukhábád. Here he accumulated a great sum of money in a few years. As he had been appointed by Haider Beg Khán, he now got this place, but after a few months he was killed by Amír Beg Mughal, a well-known and highly respected tankhwah dar, because the fated fool made use of some indecent abusive language. Amír Beg and his brother were also killed.

The facts regarding Colonel Hannay, are briefly these. Haider Beg Khán did not wish the English to have a footing in the country, and for this reason, and because of the disgrace which had overtaken his nominees in Sarwár, he was constantly endeavouring to discredit the Colonel and procure his dismissal, until eventually the Governor's mind was poisoned against him, and Haider Beg Khán caused him to be suspected of oppression, depopulation of the province of Sarwár, and embezzlement of the Wazír's revenue. Thus, injuring his reputation with the Governor and Council, he endeavoured to get him removed. These false charges were repeated and passed on from one to another until all the English, without inquiring into the facts, spoke reproachfully of his misconduct. Hence I shall, without respect for persons, truthfully record here something of the events of his administration in the hope that, the real facts being laid before impartial judges, the stigma attached to him may be removed.

The charges brought by Haider Beg Khan are three (1) oppression, (2) depopulation of the province of Sarwár, and (3) making money by embezzlement.

The truth of the charges of oppression and depopulation is this Sarwār is a country which, a hundred years before this, had been yielding a kror of rupees, and in the days of the late Nāwāb Shuja'ud Daulah had perhaps yielded as much as twenty lakhs, and Haidar Beg's 'amils had not collected more than twelve lakhs. Colonel Hannay handed into the Wazir's treasury twenty two lakhs clear of expenses. The cause of this great falling off in the jama, was the thriftlessness of the rājās of that country who were bent on sensual pleasures. The tenants relied on grazing and cattle breeding for their maintenance and abandoned agriculture. Thus a village, which a hundred years before paid a revenue of two thousand rupees, now paid only one hundred, and that, too, although there are five hundred tenants' houses in the village, and each householder has five or six hundred head of cattle. And the soil of the country of Sarwār is so rich, that the rābī instalment of revenue is collected in the first year from newly broken land. Notwithstanding this superiority of the soil, and the great number and wealth of the tenantry, yet, through the refractoriness of the rajas and the weakness of the collectors, the jama fell in this interval to ten lakhs.

In short, the Colonel, understanding the case, after many negotiations and numberless quarrels, expelled the refractory from the country, and taking under his protection the small tenants who had always been in terror of them, laid the foundation of prosperity. Although in these changes the revenue of some parganas of Gorakhpur fell off, most mahāls showed an increase, and the reduced jama's showed a promise of

rising Accordingly, in the Colonel's last year that country yielded thirty-five lakhs, and there was every hope that in three or four years the revenue would reach fifty lakhs, when Colonel Hannay was removed

The rajas, after resisting to their utmost, left the mountains and jungles, and having taken shelter under the protection of the zamindars of Sultanpur and A'zamgarh on the banks of the Ghagra, made themselves obnoxious every now and then The Colonel therefore wrote to Haidar Beg Khan 'A collector like me, and an opportunity like the present, you will not again find, and in a few years the revenue of this country will be rising It is therefore advisable that you should now make an effort, so that these exiles shall remove to a distance and be rooted out' Haidar Beg paid no attention The rajas alluded to, as their domains were near, relied on their strength and waited for their opportunity During the disturbances at Benares they crossed the Ghagra (at the orders of Chet Singh and the Begum's khwajasaras) and killed and plundered the Colonel's naibs and agents, and exerted themselves to restrain the tenants from obeying the Colonel's orders for the extension of cultivation Accordingly, two or three thousand tenants, and two or three thousand of the Colonel's employes, were killed in this raid, and the country was again depopulated, and Haidar Beg's naibs were afterwards unable to collect as much as was then collected owing to their own weakness and to this daring act of these outlaws The conclusion drawn by the English on the insinuations of Haidar Beg Khan was based on these calamities But the expulsion of these bad cha-

racters and of their agents, who were and are deserving of removal, and the famine which ensued through this occurrence, and the falling off of revenue, all happened after the Colonel's time, and were in no way attributable to any fault of his.

There is no doubt that the Colonel amassed money, not, however, by embezzlement, but through firmness and knowledge of business on his part and on that of his associates, Dr Blain, Major MacDonald, Captain Franklin, Captain Garden, Major Lumden, and others, for profits were realized after paying the income which had been stipulated for with Haidar Beg Khán, and collections were much in excess of the revenue realized in preceding years.

The cause of Governor Hastings' dislike to the Colonel was that, though he had five or six thousand sowars and infantry with him, and was near Benares, he could not come up to his relief. The Colonel was not to blame for this, for he crossed the Ghagra from Faizábád with 2,000 men immediately when he heard of the insurrection at Benares, and sent orders to Captain Garden and all his officers, who were scattered through the country, to come up, each from his residence, and join him at Sultaonpur. Each of these officers who crossed the river was plundered and killed by the exiles already mentioned. Captain Garden, who had crossed in haste with five or six hundred men without artillery, fought a whole day with the rebels and made his way to Tanda, where Ghulam Báqar Ali Khan, the Nawáb Begam's collector, was. He intended to rest there for the night, and to cut his way on next day fighting as before, but the collector

posted his men to resist the Captain and forbid him to enter the town and drew to his own side of the stream the boats lying in the deep water of the ravine, which ran between the Captain and Tanda. The Captain's men, therefore, losing their self-control, threw down their arms and plunged into the river. More than half of them were killed or drowned. The Colonel, notwithstanding that he heard this, determined to go from Faizabád to Benares, with the men he had. Therefore, the sowars who were with him, and were more numerous than his foot, being prompted by the Begam's *lihwájar* is declined to accompany him. The Colonel went to the houses of their leaders, who were many of them unworthy to receive him, and strove to move them, but without avail. After this, finding it hopeless, he turned back to guard the cantonment, where his treasure and property lay, and a large concourse of these outlaws had gathered to plunder. The Colonel had left me with 200 sowars and infantry to guard the cantonment. When the Colonel crossed the river, about 50,000 Rájput sowars gathered round the cantonment from three sides to attack me. But as there were deep ravines all round the cantonment and the bridges were carefully watched, the sowars were delayed while waiting for appliances with which to cross. Nineteen days and nights passed over me in marvellous transitions until the Colonel's return gave me a new lease of life. In short, although by the arrival of the Colonel and his companions and soldiers on all sides of the cantonment, some five thousand men were collected, the Rájputs still remained firm in their resolve. At this juncture two regiments came

up from Kanpur* to the Colonel's aid. The Colonel distributed the old force and his new contingent into three parties, and was preparing to attack the enemy, when the latter formed into three bodies. It so happened that they were crossing that day, and half of them were that side, and half this side, of the ravine, when the Colonel's force came up to punish them. Half were killed and drowned, and the rest were dispersed. The Colonel, finding the road now open, went with all his property into Lucknow, where his two regiments were disbanded. After some months the Colonel went to Calcutta to obtain satisfaction from Haidar Beg Khán, but after applying to the Council he lost hope, and after two or three days hanged himself †

Another event of this year was the appointment of Rájá Surat Singh by Haidar Beg Khán to the country of Sarwar, to remedy the disorders which had ensued on the inopportune murder of Abdullah Beg. He was well qualified to discharge that duty successfully, but when he had been there only fourteen or fifteen months, he was transferred to Bareilly, and his administration produced no good results.

In this year also an order came from the Council to Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson, for the confiscation of Salar Jang's and the Nawab Begam's jagírs because of their shortcomings during the *émigré* at Benares and their ill treatment of Colonel Hannay.

* C in MS. but I think the word should be *Asafu* mean a *Saltanqun* already mentioned.

† In this connect on read Chap. III. Book V. of Mills's History (Wellman's ed.) which shows how Colonel Hannay's administration was canvassed at Hastings's trial & afterwards.

The Nawab Begam's jagir was entrusted to Mirza Shafi' Khan Mughal Irani and that of Salár Jang was permitted to remain with Almas Ali Khan, as he had managed it for twenty-seven years, but the condition was added, that he should not give anything to Salár Jang, and should pay in the revenue and tansir to the Wazir. Haidar Beg now getting an opportunity, suggested to the Wazir to charge the Nawab Begam with the money instalments due to the Company. The Nawab Begam refused to pay, and this led the Wazir to march in force to Faizabad. Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson accompanied him in this expedition. The foolish khwaja saris determined to stand a siege with the three or four thousand men they had, but the Nawab Begam, after the guns had been mounted and appliances of war inspected, sent the two khwajasaras to her son and took refuge herself in the palace of the Nawab-i-'Aliya, and this unfortunate lady's jagir was also confiscated, because she could not help giving protection to her son's widow. The Wazir, who owed the two khwajasaras a grudge from his boyhood, now put them in iron fetters and omitted no detail of bodily inflictions, outrages, and indignities. He sacked his mother's residence and took from it 50 lakhs of rupees in cash, and 50 lakhs of property, in gold, silver, and clothes, and returned to Lucknow. Haidar Beg Khan, who owed his very life to the Begams and Bahar Ali Khan, did not utter even one word in their favour, but seems to have been the cause of the aggravation of their misfortunes.

1196 A H

[17th December, 1781—6th December, 1782]

IN this year the quarrel occurred between me and Haidar Beg Khan. It happened as follows. Haidar Beg Khan who had been emboldened from the time of Mr Bristow's second appointment, became more secure after meeting the Governor and experiencing his kindness, and grew still bolder than ever. Under the cloak of loyalty he was rebellious and insolent. Accordingly he defeated by every pretence he could devise, the measures enjoined by the Company, and if he could not defeat them, deferred their execution, and if neither of these courses was possible, he tutored the Wazir to say "yes," "very well," and make excuses, and after all these subterfuges he used to carry out only a tenth or a trifling part of everything. Mr Middleton and Mr. Johnson, who had been appointed to carry out orders through him, were continually disheartened and distracted, and Almas Ali Khan, now finding his opportunity, after having kept Mr Bristow for some successive years in suspense between hope and fear, obtained a reduction of revenue, and all collectors followed Almas Ali's example and procured a reduction of revenue and introduced an increase of expenditure. Haidar Beg Khan, on account of the presence of English supervisors, feared the disclosure of the dishonesty of his own collectors, and could do nothing but conciliate them. In consequence of this, in a few years, one-third of the revenue, which was about a *kror*, was lost in a manner which

will be explained, and the collectors becoming independent, treated Haidar Beg Khan and the tenants just as they liked, and the powerful tenantry, driven to extremities, began to become refractory. On account of this disorder and the delay in the affairs of the Company, the two gentlemen (Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson) agreed that they should not be dependent on Haidar Beg Khán for the discharge of the business of the Company, and that they should put some one forward through whom they might transact some affairs, and thus render Haidar Beg Khan less absolute and more compliant. Accordingly, Ismail Beg Shurah, Shaikh Shafi ullah, Murad ullah Khan, Mirza Shafi Khán, and two others, came forward, one after another, for this purpose. Haidar Beg Khan made some of them secretly his friends, and caused others to be dismissed on proving acts of embezzlement against them. He grew bolder and endeavoured to render Mr Middleton and Mr Johnson powerless. He sought out plans to produce disorder in the jagirs which were in Mr Middleton's trust. One of these was this. He gave a hint to Balbhadr Singh, a zamindar in one of these jagirs, who had long been enjoying an allowance of Rs. 500 a month from the Begam, and was residing on the other side of the Jamna, to commence a disturbance, and this disorder continued for two years. Although as many as two or three English regiments and six or seven thousand men of the Wazir's army were detached to expel him, they could not effect his expulsion, for Mirza Shafi Khan, Mr Middleton's gomashtra, was secretly siding with Haidar Beg Khán, and the Hindustani troops, because they

were of good family, and the English troops, because they were associated with the Hindustanis, favoured Haidar Beg Khán and did not exert themselves. About this time Almas Ali Khán, at Haidar Beg Khan's instigation, represented the jama' of Salar Jang's jágir to be five lakhs of rupees, and in the course of correspondence tendered his resignation. His idea in doing this was, that as only three or four months remained of the period of collection, and the zamíndars had known him for 27 years, they would certainly not throw in their weight against him, and thus the jágir would deteriorate like the Begam's jagir, and Mr Middleton himself and the public generally would see how helpless he (Mr Middleton) was, and thus he (Almas Ali Khán) would of a necessity be placed by them (Mr Middleton and Mr. Johnson) in charge of both jágirs again from the beginning of the next fash year. But Mr Johnson, girding himself to the task of the two jágirs and resolving to carry out his word, invited my assistance in his undertaking. I asked to be excused for fear I should excite the enmity of Haidar Beg Khan. Mr. Johnson insisted on my aiding him, and by promises of protection and favour induced me to undertake the business. At the beginning of the undertaking Haidar Beg Khán and Almas Ali Khán, in the pride of their power and on the strength of the disorder of the jágirs and the scattered position of the parganas, raised doubts everywhere in the whole Subah as to my ability to manage them, and made light of me, but many respectable persons who had suffered, became as ready to obey as they had been refractory, because the facility with

which I carried on affairs was known through the whole Subah and patent to the eyes of Haidar Beg, Almas Ali, and all their collectors. Although the revenue of the jagirs was not very large, being not quite 20 lakhs, yet the parganas were scattered all over the Subah. My náibs, however, were so well acquainted with, and gathered such intimate knowledge of, the affairs of the parganas, that they used to discharge their business and stand in readiness to take further orders, and in this way the habitual refractoriness of Haidar Beg's time, and the yearly clamours of Almas Ali and the collectors for reduction of the revenue, came to an end, and my náibs showed an increase of revenue. All this can be proved by inspection of the papers of the years preceding and succeeding this year which are in the Wazir's office. All the affairs of Mr Johnson, being undertaken with system, were in this way daily progressing, when, as fate would have it, the cards were again shuffled, as will be explained hereafter, and fortune favoured the scoundrels.

The services which I rendered to the Wazir's government during this period were three. First was the saving of two lakhs of rupees taussir from Salar Jan's jagir, the revenue of which Almas Ali had represented to be five lakhs, whereas I collected seven lakhs. The explanation of this is as follows.—The zamindars of the jagir fled at first, as Almas Ali had expected. After a covenant, bearing Mr Middleton's seal, to the effect that they would never again be handed over to Almas Ali, had been sent to them, they returned and disclosed the tyranny and oppre-

sion of Almás Ali, and the agreement was made that they should pay to the Government something less than the amount which Almás Ali had used to realize by khám tahsil. Thus although a reduction of 30,000 rupees was made, seven lakhs were realized from that jágir. As Almás Ali had always represented a falling off in all the maháls entrusted to him, and had handed in a written under-statement of the revenue of this jágir, and as the disclosure of a taufir of two lakhs would show he was a thief and shut his mouth against asking yearly for a reduction, and as the same suspicions would arise against all Haidar Beg Khán's náibs, the latter and Almas Ali did all they could to lead me astray, but it was of no use. Among other things, Haidar Beg Khán promised to let me have the two lakhs taufir to spend, if only I did not tell Mr Johnson, and privately sided with him, but, having regard for Mr Johnson's claims on me, I declined his offer, and I fully exposed the secret understanding which he had maintained with Almás Ali for several years.

The second service I rendered was the defeat and extermination of Balbhadra Singh, an act for which the Wazir, in his anxiety to suppress his violence, had offered a public reward of a lakh of rupees. The power of this man needs no illustration, for he was a very rival of the Wazir, and from the time of Safdar Jang until now, he had been the plunderer of the province. *This service was effected by three operations.*

First, I alienated the affection of his clansmen from him, and cut the cord which bound his band together. Mirza Shafi' Khan, by withdrawing at Haidar Beg's

suggestion the 500 rupees a month allowed to Balbhadra, had caused his misconduct, and his brothers and clansmen believing him to have right on his side, could not help joining him. Therefore I called up his agent in the presence of his brothers and I offered him an allowance of as much as 2,000 rupees a month, in addition to those villages on which he had previously received 500 rupees a month for his support, but he stood out for more and did not agree to this. His brothers now conceived that by his refusal he was handing them over to death.

Next, in that country there is a jungle, and in the heart of it at every few kos distance there is a fortified post. When any former collector went against Balbhadra in force, if he turned him out of one place, and hurried on in pursuit of him without demolishing it, Balbhadra simply went from that post to another, and so through all back again he came into the first. This was an advantage to Balbhadra Singh, for if he had been dependent on one solitary stronghold, he would have been unable to reach any spot at all distant. For this reason I entertained three or four hundred labourers, and when I expelled him from any post, I cut down the jungle and razed the fort until he had no place of refuge left.

The third operation is the fight which I had with him. When the struggle between Balbhadra Singh and me was at its height, I heard of the removal of Mr Middleton and Mr Bristow, and Mr Johnson, as luck would have it, had gone away before this to Calcutta. Loyalty to these two gentlemen and chagrin at my separation from them, as well as my antipathy to Haidar Beg

Khan, led me to resign my employment. Although Mr Middleton wrote to me repeatedly that Mr Bristow would extend to me the same protection and consideration that he had done, I did not recover my confidence, and so closed my accounts with their government. Haidar Beg Khan, though he desired to have revenge on me, was far seeing and was pleased with my retirement, and gave me an acquittance receipt without going into accounts. After this blow over, I gave up the pursuit of Balbhadhr Singh and went to a village on three sides of which were water, and which was fortified. Balbhadhr Singh, who had before heard that I was weak, now grew more bold than ever and pitched his tents opposite my encampment, and the concourse of the unbelievers so closely pressed on all sides of my camp that any one who raised his head was hurried *into the next world*. I was *stung by this and jealous* of my reputation, and I determined to face him. One day that he went to the banks of the river to bathe I made a night attack with 600 followers who did not know I had lost my appointment. But, owing to the crookedness of the road, a delay occurred, the night ended, and Balbhadhr Singh, who was on the alert and ready, seeing the paucity of my supporters courted an encounter. The fight lasted till midday, and each party routed the other several times. In the afternoon victory declared for me. About six or seven hundred noted Rajputs of that zila, and near relations of his, were killed. Balbhadhr Singh fled with the survivors to the bank of the river and began to cross. My men coming up fired a volley from their muskets. Two out of five boats sank with all on board, about 500 men,

and all were drowned Balbhadhr Singh was driven away in a wretched plight, half dead with fear. There was not one village in the jágir of which some well-known people were not killed. After this victory I felt at my ease and, before another collector was appointed, I collected a lakh of rupees and I paid off both soldiers and revenue police. I then came to Lucknow and hurried to call on Mr Bristow as Mr Middleton had left.

The end of Balbhadhr Singh was this. In the rabi^{*} of the same year he returned to this side of the river. His clansmen, after the scare they had got, refrained from joining him, and he proceeded to loot with three hundred newly-recruited horse and foot. Isma'il Beg Khán, my naib, and Major Lumsden and other officers of two English regiments which had been there from my time, surrounded the jungle, and, as no stronghold had been left to him, succeeded in reaching him, and passing through the stockades^{*} where his servants were, wounded and captured him. Next day he died of his wounds.

A third service which I rendered was the waking up of Haidar Beg Khán, Almás Ali, and all the collectors, and the causing them to stand upright in the service of the Wazir, as has already been described.

In this year Haidar Beg dismissed and imprisoned Tapar Chand Khazanchi, and placed in charge of the treasury Bijairáj, who had caused the disturbance at

* The word in the original is not very legible, but it seems to be intended for some derivative of the Arabic root *scold* 'a stake' 'to drive a stake,' and means a stockade to which Balbhadhr Singh was reduced by the operations mentioned on p. 66.

Benares and had fled to Lucknow for fear the English should call him to account. He left the Bakhshigari with Bholá Náth, the sarishtadár of Tápár Chánd's office. This Bholá Náth has no equal as a cheat and peculator. The whole army is heartless and demoralized by him, for, in collusion with the officers he is guilty of endless embezzlement and theft, and he bribes every one who is put in as his núb, and up to this day subsists by the same malpractices.

long time there was no sign of the money. This led the Governor to ask Haidar Beg to explain. He replied that the delay had occurred owing to an order from Mr Johnson, and he sent a forged letter to this effect, bearing Mr. Johnson's seal, to the Council. Mr Johnson was summoned to Calcutta to answer this charge. As the Governor was at this time ill and had been rendered powerless in Council, the members of Council made a great deal out of this small matter, using it as a pretext for re-appointing Mr Bristow. Mr Middleton resigned through mortification, and they sent Mr Bristow to Lucknow for the third time. I was in Lucknow when Mr Johnson left. Just at the same time news came in of great outrages by Balbhadra Singh and Mr Middleton ordered that I should be sent for. As Mr Johnson, when he bid me good bye, had concealed the circumstances of his departure and consoled me with a promise of his speedy return, I left Lucknow and was involved in all those troublesome enterprises which have been described. I was successful and returned with laurels to Lucknow. To come to the point, Haidar Beg Khan, though he got rid of Mr Johnson by the trick I have mentioned, did not succeed in his object of obtaining Major Palmer's appointment. As a last resort he employed himself in deceiving Mr Bristow. This gentleman was well aware of his peculations and knavery, but, though he was determined to defeat him, Ismail Beg Shurab for the furthering of his own ends, kept Mr Bristow inactive so that Haidar Beg gained time. It happened in this way. As Ismail Beg had made up his mind to seize my 'ilaga and

deprive me of my station which rivalled that of Haidar Beg Khan, he put it into Mr Bristow's head not to allow me any share in affairs for a short time, so as to reassure Haidar Beg Khan, and thus, while striving to put him at his ease, slowly contrived his ruin. And yet it was a fact that at that time Mr Bristow was strongly supported by the members of Council, things had been carried on by me with success, abundant means of deserting Haidar Beg were at hand, and all that he wished was sure to be effected and in delay there was the danger of the opportunity being lost and of Governor Hastings recovering control. This was actually what happened. When my 'ilāqa was divided out, over one-half was entrusted to two or three friends of Haidar Beg Khan's, and the rest was left with Isma'il Beg Khan and Taqi Beg Khan, n'ubs of mine. Isma'il Beg got nothing whatever. In the next year, Governor Hastings regained his power and he removed Mr Bristow on pretence of a change of plans.

Another event of this year was the establishment of courts of law. On this point it has to be said that, notwithstanding the immense population and the magnificence of Lucknow, there was not, and there is not, any *recognized jurisdiction of courts of criminal or civil law*. All transactions of money-lending are stopped and every one who has the power oppresses some one else, and the only punishment meted out to an oppressor is when the sufferer takes his life in his hand and seeks his revenge himself, or when some influential man in the city takes him under his wing. Qazi Ghulam Mustafa and Mustā Ghulam Hazrat and

many famous learned men—for there are numbers of accomplished and just and discerning men of other countries also here—elected to remain in their private houses, through fear of the sneers and ridicule of the Wazir's servants. Besides this, the Wazir's servants generally make their chobdars their agents and obtain fatwá's and decrees such as they desire. The position of chief justice of the Subah, a dignity which is the nearest to that of the Subahdár himself, and an office to be filled only by men of great knowledge and high bearing, had been conferred some years before on Bhawáni Singh Raja, an orderly of the Wazir's, and is now filled by some one else like him. This results wholly from the villainy of the Wazir's servants, who desire to have no rule but their own in the city, and while they do not allow him a chance of doing justice, they blame it on his ill-health.

Justice is pushed as the complaint is vain

'Mid all this wrong, alas! what can we gain?

When the Wazir does hold a court of justice, what he does is, he deposes a chobdar with the complainant and tells him to "go and do what this oppressor, who makes himself out to be oppressed, wants," but the protection of the oppressor is every where the custom. The Wazir is in the matter of criminal justice utterly heedless. There was a firework-maker in the Wazir's service lived in the Sabza muhallá, in which is my house, and he used to entice children of nine and ten years of age by their love of fireworks and kill them at the bidding of wizards, until men got a clue and dug up his house. They exhumed several corpses of children with their tongues and hearts cut out and their faces burned,

and carried them in that state to the Wazir's door, but for all their cries and lamentations there was no notice taken of them. The firework maker remained in concealment for some days, but now carries his head as high as ever in that *muballa*, and frightens the parents of the murdered children with accusations of plundering the Wazir's property. Here is another illustration. A man named Nauroz Khán killed Raza Beg Mughal, a relative of the late Nawab. As the culprit was a relative of Jhro Lal, all the deceased's mother's appeals for justice were vain, and at last two lads about fifteen years of age sons of the deceased's sister, killed the murderer at the Wazir's gate and ran away. Though the Wazir searched for them, they were not to be found. Cases like this are too numerous to be written.

Another oppression is that which the Wazir's subjects suffer in his two regular tours, for his camp-followers have permission to take grass, *bhusa*, firewood, earthen pots and other such things, and the subjects are so accustomed to oppression, that they reckon this tyranny nothing. But these men, on pretence of taking these things, levy as much grain and money as they go along, from the fields and houses of the peasantry, as keeps them for two or three months on tour and forms a fund for two or three months at Lucknow. Add to this, they burn at night for illuminations the houses of the peasants, which are vacated because of the nearness of the camp and the consumption of firewood and other supplies already mentioned is so great in the camp, that they pull out the pillars of the people's houses and throw down the thatch to get wood for cooking their half set of flour. When

Tikait Rai or the collectors complained to Jhao Lal of the oppressive nature of their conduct, he used to reply that if it were meant to put an end to these practices, the Wazir's excursions, which are the means of enlivening his spirits, would be brought to an end, and that if it were not for the two or three months in the year that his servants get something, it would be impossible to be in attendance on the Wazir. Those who exclaimed against the tyranny were silenced when they heard this.

In short, Mr Bristow, when he learned all these things, was incensed and bitterly reproached Haider Beg. The latter, fearing lest Mr Bristow should himself undertake these matters, appointed Maulavi Mubín, a celebrated scholar, for some months during Mr Bristow's time, to the post of Civil Judge, and after Mr Bristow's removal he appointed Muhammad Nasir Khán, a son of Mukhtárud Daulah's paternal uncle, and a personal friend of his own, to this post, and fixed salaries for court officials. After a couple of years the officials, being unpaid, dispersed, and Muhammad Nasir Khan even left his native place and took up his residence in Benares. In 1207 A H, for some unknown reason, Tikait Rai nominated to this office Mustá Ghulam Hazrat, who is eminently qualified for the duty. Although the Mustá still continues appointed to the bench, yet, owing to the delays in payment of the officials of the court and to the authority usurped by influential men in the city, he might as well not exist.

In this year Mr Cooper, who had been appointed in Mr Johnson's stead as Mr Bristow's assistant, kept himself aloof from very shame, and being unable to endure these rascals, left for Calcutta.

1198 A. H.

[26th November, 1783—13th November, 1784.]

In this year Khwajá 'Ainu'ddín was removed from Bareilly on Mr. Bristow's complaint, for the ruin he was there working, and Rájá Surat Singh was appointed in his stead. He went there from Sarwar and died after a lapse of a year and a few months. Then Rájá Jagan Náth, who had been sent as his assistant and deputy, on account of the close of the civil courts, was appointed principal, and the foundations of prosperity were laid in that province, but the unfortunate subjects of the Wazír who trusted in him were again involved in calamity, for in 1200 A. H. Haidar Beg dismissed Rájá Jagan Nath and merged the district in that of Jhao L'al. Jhao Lal's naib was Bhagwándás, whose father was the notorious Bálak Rám, a relative of Jhao Lal's. Thus Bhagwán Dás acted so immoderately that he was killed by a collector. The province was then made over to Mirza Mahdí and became excessively impoverished. The effects of his oppression extended even beyond the málguzárs to others, in the form of house-taxes and corn-tax, and even went as far as taking a tenth of their thread from women who worked spinning wheels, so that his tyranny became a proverb. Rájá Jagan Náth was placed under surveillance on a charge of false accounts, and after the death of Haidar Beg Khán was rigorously imprisoned through the malignity of Tikait Rai. He died of a broken heart in 1207 A. H., and was thus freed from the fear of tyrants.

In this year occurred the dismissal of Mr. Bristow and the appointment of Major Palmer to succeed him. This came about as follows. During the whole of Mr. Bristow's, tenure of office, Major Palmer stayed at Lucknow and exposed all Haidar Beg Khán's lies to the Governor. For this reason the Governor, having now recovered power, explained to the Council how the Wazír's affairs were daily becoming worse, and how Haidar Beg was laying the blame on the Company's gomáshitas, and said that it seemed advisable, in order to test him, to remove the Resident and gomáshitas from Lucknow, and to leave Major Palmer there as the Governor's agent. Hence Mr. Bristow was dismissed and Ismá'il Beg Shuráh, who has been connected with every Resident from the days of the late Nawáb until now, as his postal agent, had not courage enough to remain at Lucknow and went with Mr. Bristow to Calcutta. For this reason he destroyed the accounts of two years, and besides this he took a vast sum out of the collections of Allahabad on his way down country. He died not long afterwards in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. After his heaping up, with an utter disregard of the sufferings of men, a fortune, which is believed to have been many lakhs of rupees, his children are now reaping the reward of their father's sins and are living in extreme poverty and distress. Ismá'il's money was in deposit with other people, and any one who held money when he died, misappropriated it.

I also determined to leave Lucknow at the same time with Mr. Bristow, but Haidar Beg Khán became very importunate, wrote a letter with his own hand

before the open Qurán, expressing his satisfaction with me, and professing himself clear with me, and sorry for his illtreatment of me, and declaring good intentions toward me for the future, and gave it to me. Although I knew of old the laxity of his promises, yet, reflecting on my want of employment and the lack of interest in me shown by the English, I considered it best to accept his professions, and I remained for some years waiting for something to turn up, and proved to all my innocence and his faithlessness.

Another event of this year was the visit of Governor Hastings to Lucknow. The Wazír went to Benares to meet him and put him up in his Diwán-kháná, which is known as the Imárat Baoli, and entertained him as an esteemed guest. While the Governor was at Lucknow, there arose a famine and high prices prevailed such as men had not heard of for hundreds of years. Thousands of people died daily of inanition, and the heaps of corpses which accumulated in the suburbs caused a stench in the whole city. In this distress some English people who were residing at Lucknow, showed great sympathy for the famine-stricken poor, each of them provided food and medical attendance for five hundred or a thousand helpless people while the famine lasted, and then sent them home. Haidar Beg used daily to give out a thousand rupees by Governor Hastings' command, to be divided out to the infirm sufferers, but as the distributors were avaricious men, needy slaves and commandants of Haidar Beg's regiments, they abused the trust and used to appropriate more than half to themselves. And so great was the disorder they allowed at distri-

bution, that heads, hands and other limbs of applicants for relief were hurt, nay lives were actually lost in the scramble. Besides this, if a young girl who could talk well and had a pleasant voice met their view in the crowd,] they hurried her to Haidar Beg Khan's haram, and indeed most of Haidar Beg's children are by these girls. It must be said that, if their master is so heedless in the treatment of the creatures of God, that he is bent on the gratification of lust even in the midst of such distress and cohorts with such persons, it is not to be wondered at if his servants are avaricious of money. Haidar Beg Khan was, from the commencement of his career, given to distributing money in such ways that the hands and feet and heads of the poor were broken, for he had a thorough belief in the sayings of astrologers, and these men used sometimes to weigh him in a balance and get the equal of his weight in silver, copper and clothes, and sometimes they ordered him to distribute coppers to the poor, and sometimes also when he was himself in fear for any reason, he used to do the same. To this day one result of Haidar Beg's folly is seen in Lucknow, surviving as a memento of him. A number of professional beggars, who post themselves at particular places, have taken to demand false charity such as he used to give, and hundreds of persons in every street of the city pull the hands and clothes of respectable passers-by, so that it is difficult to go along the road, for if anything be given they drag the donor from his vehicle or horse, and the strong among them kick and thump

tongues Any one who has been in Lucknow and felt the hands or tongues of these rascals, knows that there can be no greater evil than almsgiving of this kind

During this period Prince Jawan Bakht fled from Sháhjahánábád and came to Lucknow. The Governor and Wazír went to receive him and treated him with the usual ceremony. A pension of three lakhs per annum was assigned to him. As he had a political connection with the Wazír, a close intimacy also sprang up between them, but this intimacy was destroyed by the prince's youthful follies, one of which was his marriage with two women of the town, and so the prince elected to reside at Benares : but after the quarrel between Ismá'il Beg and Ghulám Qadir, and the departure of the Patel, the prince came with Lord Cornwallis up to the suburbs of Lucknow and went on towards Shahjahanábád without entering Lucknow. Before he arrived at Delhi, a large gathering formed round him, and if he had been of the right stuff he could have snatched the empire. But he was swayed by the ease he had tasted at Benares, and after visiting his father, he brought away his family to Akbarábád on pretence of managing that Subáh, and hurried straight from there to Lucknow. As the Wazír did not on this occasion come out to meet him or show him any respect, he went again to Benares, where he died soon afterwards of cholera. This happened at the end of Sha'bán 1202 A. H. His pension was about to be discontinued on account of his misconduct already mentioned, but, owing to the humanity of Lord Cornwallis, it was spread over his wives and children.

Another of the events of this period was the banishment of Mirza Hasan, a young Mughal retainer of this Government, a provident and experienced man, who was at this time superintendent of the Wazir's domestic offices, nay, his very soul and tongue. The reason of this was as follows — Mirza Hasan reduced the expenses in every department of the Wazir's household, fixed a monthly salary for his servants, and put an end to their indolence and the oppressions they committed on the Wazir's subjects. He placed trustworthy bar̄āras over the daroghas, and stopped the habitual embezzlement and theft practiced in all departments. His economy in all his arrangements was so great that, if detailed, it would be deemed exaggerated. If they wanted one straw from the Wazir's garden, offering even a gold mohar for it, they could not get it. Accordingly, the daroghas and their 'amla, among whom was Maulavi Fazl Azim, Sarbarīhkār of the Bawarchikhana, conspired to get rid of him. The Maulavi complained against him to Hasan Raza Khān, and, as Haidar Beg was angry with him for dunning him for money for the Wazir's expenses, the two carried tales about him to the Governor. The Governor merely said to tell the Wazir that men of this class were not fit to be entertained by him in his personal service. Haidar Beg retailed this in an exaggerated form to the Wazir, and the Wazir, although he held him dearer than life because of his meanness, at once gave orders for his banishment from the city. The unfortunate man was not allowed time to draw breath, retired to Kālpi, and died there after a few years. Governor Hastings, who was fully aware of

Haidar Beg's faults, and had intended in this visit to procure his dismissal and to set the Wazir's affairs straight, was compelled to go to England to settle some urgent matters, and was unable to carry out his designs. So, seconding Major Palmer's efforts, he exerted himself to have *Haidar Beg Khán* made permanent, and left for Calcutta. Next year he sailed for England.

1199 A H

[14th November, 1784—3rd November, 1785]

In this year Haidar Beg, as Governor Hastings had left for England and Governor Macpherson was only temporary, went farther than before and entrusted the revenue and military affairs of the province to persons who had helped him in his previous troubles. He now plotted against some well known men, nobles and military officers, who had up to that time managed to hold their own. In the course of time he overthrew them. Among these were Jamshe' Beg and Khwaja Ni'matullah. He sent them from Lucknow with 2,000 Turk sawars on the pretence of their assisting 'Ata Beg Khán, a relative of his and faujdar of A'zamgarh. The Khán was waiting for them and gave the order for the disbanding of the Turk sawars, and produced a firmán for their plunder in case they should return to Lucknow. On this account most of these sawars went off to Akbarabad.

Another of Haidar Beg's acts was the disbanding of the regiment which had captured the fort of Gwalhar. This regiment was in the Company's service and came with the Governor to Lucknow. The Wazir was pleased with their smartness and skill in manœuvre, and by great importunity induced the Governor to give them to him, and he had retained them in his own service.

1200 A H

[4th November, 1785—23rd October, 1786]

IN this year happened the removal of Major Palmer and the appointment of Colonel Harper. The Colonel came from England with the appointment in his pocket. Governor Macpherson made it conditional on the Wazir's pleasure. The Colonel came to Lucknow, and, by promising Haidar Beg his support and coalition, obtained a letter expressing satisfaction with his appointment and gained his end.

It must be noted that, throughout the previous intrigues, Major Palmer and Tafazul Husen Khan fancied that while the original office of Resident at Lucknow had been weakened by the dismissal of Mr Bristow, yet that, inasmuch as Major Palmer was an intimate patron of Haidar Beg's and a close friend of Governor Hastings, he would have complete control, and that Haidar Beg would prove obedient to him. Their expectations of what the friendship of Hastings would effect were soon disappointed, and Haidar Beg, having gained his point, allowed Major Palmer just so much consideration as was due to the office of an agent. Major Palmer swallowed his wrath and put up with this. Even that position he did not maintain, for Haidar Beg was in his secret. As Major Palmer's appointment had its origin in a conspiracy against the public welfare and a desire to promote his own private gain, it resulted only in infamy and exaction.

1201 A II

[24th October, 1786—12th October, 1787]

In this year Sálár Jang, who has been already mentioned, went to the place appointed for him. He was debarred from calling on the name of God and hearing the word of God according to the practice of every Mussalman in his last moments, for during his lifetime he had refrained from reading the Qurán and they dared not even mention in his house the name of the 'Sara Yusín,' which is especially intended for these moments, and if there was any occasion to refer to it, they spoke of it as the Nanáwán, or 'nameless thing.' This fact suffices to show at once how far he was either tolerant, religious, or fearless.

In this year Haidar Beg, when he heard of the dignified bearing and noble qualities of Lord Cornwallis, who had arrived in Calcutta as Governor, went to Bengal. This nobleman, who was free from all guile and entirely without motives, was completely deceived by his apparent openness, and treated him with courtesy and trust. Accordingly, Haidar Beg, embracing the opportunity, carried several points with Lord Cornwallis and returned to Lucknow successful and exultant. Among these matters were (1) a reduction in the annual payment to the Company, (2) a remission of the arrears of past years, (3) the abolition of the taxes imposed to meet the expenses of the cantonments, and the removal of officers who were employed in the service of the Subah. Some months elapsed between his departure and his return.

Immediately on his return he quarrelled with Jhao L'al and made Bareilly over to Mirz Mahdi, who has

already been mentioned, a man who, it was notorious, had not even the ability to fill the post, and who was one of Tikait Rai's associates and reckoned among his *protégés*. Jhao Lal's house and all his property were confiscated to meet the accounts, and he was himself imprisoned. After a year and a half he managed to satisfy Haidar Beg and was released.

Two months after Haidar Beg's return, Colonel Hauper was removed, and Mr F* was appointed, and at the same time the news of Lord Cornwallis's intention to visit Lucknow was received. The Wazir went to Allahabád to receive him, and Haidar Beg went as far as Benares, and they returned together. In accordance with custom they entertained the Governor and presented money, goods, and curiosities, but Lord Cornwallis would not take anything whatever of all they presented, and he endeavoured to out-do all previous Governors in the marks of respect and courtesy which he showed the Wazir. In fact, Lord Cornwallis, as the couplet puts it —

What knoweth he of lies who lives and speaks aright?

Crooked or straight alike a candle gives but light

inasmuch as he was himself straightforward, thought the Wazir and Haidar Beg were also so. In his large-heartedness and his appreciation of degrees of nobility, he took the Wazir to be like the Wazirs and Princes of other countries, and fancied that previous Governors, not having been of noble family, had failed to pay due regard to the high descent of the Wazir, and used to interfere unnecessarily in his affairs. So he said to himself that, if he respected the dignity

* The name is not given in the original.

of the Wazir, it would show his discrimination and further the interests of the Company, for most can be made of men of rank in this way. Accordingly he adopted the line of policy described. The Wazir now made a great mistake and began to fancy himself somebody of importance, and to think that he had for no reason submitted so long to the worry of Governors. When Lord Cornwallis discovered the extent of Haidar Beg's impostures and the Wazir's want of dignity, he became ashamed of himself, and resolved to remedy what he had done, but for some reasons this resolution did not take the shape of public action. This made the Wazir more obstinate. The first reason was the stability of the Governor's character. It was not usual with him to run impetuously or readily in the opposite course to what he had pursued. The second was his want of skill in civil administration and details of government. The third was the complicity of Mr P with the Wazir and Haidar Beg. All the faults he had detected in his time, he concealed owing to his great avarice. The fourth reason was that Haidar Beg Khan conciliated the Governor's staff and the members of Council and most of their friends in Calcutta, even their very servants, through the skilful offices of Tafazzul Husen Khan, so that no one might mention his villainies, and if any one made reparations for exposing him, he might be foiled by the multiplicity of his friends. For all these reasons, how could Lord Cornwallis, with his military simplicity, gain a complete insight into all the ramifications of Haidar Beg's rascality and deceit?

1202 A H

[13th October, 1787—1st October, 1788]

IN this year Haidar Beg gave his daughters in marriage to Makhdum Bakhsh, Sarfaraz Beg, and others, his four nephews. As they were his relatives, he made great efforts to add to the public importance and lustre of his sons-in-law. To each of them, notwithstanding their worthlessness and open disobedience, he assigned troops and public offices, and, as he thought, established their fortunes. As it happened, however, after his death, they proved wholly improvident, and fell so low through poverty that they used to pay court to Tikait Rai's clerks.

About this time the sordidness of Haidar Beg and his breaches of faith with me, led me to leave Lucknow and make my first visit to Calcutta. Haidar Beg, in accordance with the saying that "conscience doth make cowards of us all,"* grew alarmed and sent Tafazzul Husen Khan to Calcutta, ostensibly as an agent of the Wazir, but really to frustrate me or hold me in check. So we arrived in Calcutta within twenty days of each other. I may mention in passing that the Khán had gone to Calcutta with Major Palmer, and had taken up his residence there when Haidar Beg visited that city. At the instigation of the latter he resigned the Company's service and returned with him to Lucknow. But Haidar Beg, as his habit was, chose to treat the Khán with distrust and neglect, until my movements drove him to make this appointment and satisfy all the Khán's demands.

*The original has the Arabic proverb *Alkhá innu Khá ifan* —the dishonest man is beset by fear.

1203 A. H

[2nd October, 1788—20th September, 1789]

It was in this year, I believe, that Sulaiman Shikoh, who is now in Lucknow, came there, and 5,000 rupees a month were assigned him for his expenses, and Khánzád Khán, an associate of his, undertook the management of his household.

Haider Beg, although he had for some years dis-established the courts of law and kept Raja Jagan Náth on parole, and though he hated the very name of civil law, in this year invested with the functions of the Civil Judge Hirde Narayan; brother of Maha Narayan, who has been mentioned in the beginning of these pages. Thus Hirde Narayan is a very insignificant and obscure man, and his appearance affords no indication that he is of good family or has lived in good surroundings. Still, if Haider Beg only supported him, he could manage an office better than Tikut Rai and his subordinates. But after his investiture with the office, which was, so to speak, a joke and satire, no business was entrusted to him, so that, in fact, he is hard up and at his wits' end for forty or fifty rupees for his necessary expenses.

1204 A H

[21st September, 1789—9th September, 1790]

IN this year Muku L'al, the sarishtadar of Tikait Rai's office, the most humane man of all his officials, died. Hulas Rai, brother of the son-in-law of Nirmal Das, Tikait Rai's eldest brother, succeeded him as Tikait Rai's Peshkar, Buj Nath and Dhanpat came into the Treasury, and Nirmal Das became a revenue collector. Bachhráj, who had been up to this time without a place and had had to support himself as a tout, now became worse off than ever. These several persons will be described hereafter.

1205 A H

[10th September, 1790—30th August 1791]

In this year the Imámbaráh was completed and tr'zirs began to be deposited here

It should be mentioned here, the expenditure of the Wazir in buildings alone is ten lakhs per annum, and has continued regularly from the beginning of his rule up to the present day. Each new building that is completed is occupied for two or three days and is left empty ever afterwards. A lamp even is not lighted in it by night, nor is it swept by day. And the wrongs which God's people suffer by this building-mania are many. First, wherever he lays out a building, the residents of the place, who have for years lived there, are ordered by him to leave it once without getting either money compensation or another house. It has often happened that people have not had time to carry away their furniture, the labourers have dismantled the house before it was vacated, and the occupants of a tenement have been compelled to quit, leading their wives and children by the hand. Second, the Wazir's workmen, on every possible pretext, utilize the houses of the people to furnish bricks, timber, and other building materials. In this matter their tyranny is so great that where there is a house with doorways or pillars of brick and the rest of the building of mud, and there is a family living in it, they ruin that whole family for the sake of the fifteen or twenty thousand bricks and pull down the house. Third, the dearth of building materials, caused by the hurry and the want of method on the part of the

officials. Fourth, building materials and carpenters and masons are frequently interdicted to the public. When this happens, people are put to such straits and so hampered in their urgent requirements that they cannot get bricks to build masonry tombs over their relatives, not to say that they cannot repair their houses for the rains. And this is not confined to building materials, but most commodities, such as sugar, firewood, rice, and so on eatables and necessities, are subjected to a sudden rise in price several times in the year, for, if the Wazir's workmen take these things for their use, instead of payment for them, an order is given for the price current to be raised. Fifth, the servants of the Wazir, nay, even all moneyed men, on the principle of "like master, like man,"* follow the example of the Wazir and engage in building mansions and oppressing the poor. And every one in his own muhallā turns out the residents and enlarges his own house. The Wazir and all the rest of them are so brisk about their building that they do not take time to burn bricks and lime thoroughly, so that a building is hardly completed before it begins to decay. Accordingly most buildings erected by the Wazir in his first years are now becoming dilapidated. The bridge† over the Gumti, which was built at a cost of two or three lakhs of rupees, gives way every year in the rains, and forty or fifty passengers are killed, and after the rains the same haste is exhibited in its repair.

In a word, of all his buildings, the Imambārāh is the finest and most strongly built. It consists of two

* The original is *annāsu ala dīni malakūhim* ?

† The stone bridge near the fort

halls and a balcony and arcades. The length of the halls is 60 yards and the breadth 30 yards. In front of it is a very broad terrace, and in the middle of it a reservoir. There is a large courtyard, and at the sides stand a lofty mosque and outoffices in keeping with it. Opposite the Imámbaráh is erected a high gate, a kind of 'tirj anliyá,' and beside it are two or three extensive jilo-khánas, which have three doors each in the same style. Near this are outoffices, a hospital, and travellers' rest-houses. Over the gate of the outermost 'jilo-khaná,' which is known as the Rumi Darwáza, they have erected a circular chamber with painted walls. The breadth of this gate will be the same as that of all three gates, 30 yards, and its height about 40 yards. It dazzles the eyes of those who look up. The roofs of this gate and of the halls, which are 30 yards wide, and of all the buildings in this block, are of brick and lime, and there is no wood whatever in the whole.

Every year since its completion four or five lakhs of rupees have been spent on the decoration of the Imámbaráh. Hundreds of ta'ziás, big and small, are made of gold and silver, and the number of glass chandeliers, with and without glass shades, plain and coloured, and candelabra of gold and silver and glass, with drum shaped and bell-shaped shades, which are purchased, defies computation. The halls, large as they are, have their floors and ceilings filled with them, so that the caretakers can with difficulty perform their duty, and what room is there for the ta'ziadárs to come and go. So the public look on from a distance, sitting on the roofless terrace. With all this the Wazír was not satis-

fied When Dr Blane was going to England, he gave him an order for two glass ta'zias with chandeliers and shades and other appointments, one to be green and the other red The price was fixed at a lakh of rupees. In 1211 A H, one arrived, and the other was promised for the next year

Another of the events of this year was that Zainu'l Abdin Khan, who had been imprisoned by the Patel after the death of his brother Mirza Sha'fi Khan, obtained his release on some pretext and came to Lucknow Saiyad Muhammad Khan, son of Mirza Yusuf, Mirza Rahim Khan, and Abdu'l Muthib Khan, who were relations of Burhānu'l Mulk, and the sons of Muhammad Quli Khan, deceased, each of whom, driven by hunger, had in the course of events left and gone to Zulfigaru'd Daulah's camp, had returned to Lucknow before Zainu'l Abdin Khan on account of commotions in Akbarabad, and they were again involved in the same trouble as before, nay, in worse trouble The circumstances of the head of this family are so reduced that a banīya applied to the Wazir for possession of the premises of Mirza Ja'far, son of Muhammad Quli Khan, in payment of the price of provisions, which he had for a long time failed to obtain. Mirza Ja'far pleaded that his allowances were in arrears and asked the sazáwal for time The Wazir ordered that he should be at once expelled the realm, and his wife and children taken from him. The unfortunate man fled with his horse and whip to Kalpi, and meant to go thence to the Dakhin. The officers in that place, as they were creatures of Jhao La'l's, in pursuance of the Wazir's orders, prevented him going

to the Dakhin. He then turned from Kálpi to Benares in distress and perplexity, and intended to go to Bengál. After this all trace of him was lost; Stranger than everything, notwithstanding such treatment of his relatives, old acquaintances and all respectable men of every rank, nobles, military men, and private citizens, and that wasteful expenditure, an enormous waste, of which a little has been mentioned in these pages, the Wazír expects that people will yield him allegiance on account of the claims and names of his ancestors, will submit to these tyrannies with perfect complacence, will wink at his evil practices, which are harder than death to endure, and will not open their lips to complain. If any one is foolish enough to reproach the Wazír for these actions and shuns him, he and the place seekers charge him with sedition, disloyalty, and enmity to Mussulmans. Accordingly I had a long conversation once with a man of some influence in the Wazír's councils. I said something to this effect "As the world is a whirligig of changes, and especially in these days when there is a rumour afloat of an invasion by Zaman Shah, it is possible that we may be attacked from without, and then the people will rise as they did in Chut Singh's rebellion, and some of the soldiers will prove rebels and some will be loyal, and the Ruhelas and Afghans, who are lying in wait for their opportunity, like a latent pleurisy within the ribs, in that country, will raise a greater commotion even than foreign foes. Then who will ward off the enemy, and how? And what will become of the blood and honour of high and low?" He admitted all I said, and replied "Quite so, but

1195 A H

[28th December, 1780—16th December, 1781]

IN this year Mr Bristow arrived in Calcutta on his return from England, with the appointment to Lucknow, and proceeded from Calcutta to Lucknow. Mr Parling was removed, and Hudar Beg Khan quaked for some time on account of his conduct, but was put at his ease when Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson were subsequently associated with Mr Bristow. Thereafter Mr Bristow became merely a post-office for the transmission of letters on matters affecting the affairs of the Company, and the negotiations between the Governor and the Wazir, and the collection of money and the payment of it to the troops, were all entrusted to the other two.

As Hudar Beg Khan had no regard for Mr Bristow, Mr Bristow's influence was gone, and being unable to put up with his insolence, he returned to Calcutta. The other two, Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson, remained in undisputed possession.

About this time the dispute between Chet Singh and Governor Hastings came to a crisis, and for this reason great disturbance arose in the Wazir's dominions and thousands of people were slain by the zamindars. In this exigency Haidar Beg Khan had arrived with a disciplined force within a few kos of Benares, but owing to his natural cowardice he could not venture to go to the Governor. He opened up communications with Chet Singh also, for he considered it politic and prudent to do so, in order that

Benares and had fled to Lucknow for fear the English should call him to account. He left the Bakhshigari with Bholá Náth, the sarishtadár of Tapar Chand's office. This Bholá Náth has no equal as a cheat and speculator. The whole army is heartless and demoralized by him, for, in collusion with the officers he is guilty of endless embezzlement and theft, and he bribes every one who is put in as his náib, and up to this day subsists by the same malpractices.

and all were drowned Balbhadr Singh was driven away in a wretched plight, half dead with fear There was not one village in the jágir of which some well known people were not killed After this victory I felt at my ease and, before another collector was appointed, I collected a lakh of rupees and I paid off both soldiers and revenue police I then came to Lucknow and hurried to call on Mr. Bristow as Mr Middleton had left

The end of Balbhadr Singh was this In the rabi¹ of the same year he returned to this side of the river His clansmen, after the scare they had got, refrained from joining him, and he proceeded to loot with three hundred newly recruited horse and foot Isma'il Beg Khán, my naib, and Major Lumsden and other officers of two English regiments which had been there from my time, surrounded the jungle, and, as no stronghold had been left to him, succeeded in reaching him, and passing through the stockades^{*} where his servants were, wounded and captured him Next day he died of his wounds

A third service which I rendered was the waking up of Haidar Beg Khan, Almas Ali, and all the collectors, and the causing them to stand upright in the service of the Wazir, as has already been described

In this year Haidar Beg dismissed and imprisoned Tapar Chand Khazanchi, and placed in charge of the treasury Byairáj, who had caused the disturbance at

* The word in the original is not very legible but it seems to be intended for some derivative of the Arabic root *wa'l* 'a stake' to drive a stake and means a stockade to which Bilbhadr Singh was reduced by the operations mentioned on p 66

Benares and had fled to Lucknow for fear the English should call him to account. He left the Bakhshigari with Bholá Nath, the sarishtadár of Tápár Chánd's office. This Bholá Nath has no equal as a cheat and peculator. The whole army is heartless and demoralized by him, for, in collusion with the officers he is guilty of endless embezzlement and theft, and he bribes every one who is put in as his náib, and up to this day subsists by the same malpractices.

1197 A H

[7th December, 1782—25th November, 1783]

IN this year happened the removal of Mr Johnson and Mr Middleton and my resignation of the management of the *jágirs*. The circumstances attending these events are as follows —When all Haidar Beg's devices failed to effect his object, as has already been explained, and he could neither upset the arrangements in the *jágirs* nor deceive me any more, when his scheming proved the cause of my good fame and stability, I attained both wealth and position, and officers expert and experienced, both military and civil, gathered round me in numbers, and difficulties were easily surmounted. For this reason Haidar Beg Khan, fearing his own displacement now resorted to the plan of fixing some suspicion on Mr Johnson, who was a firm and successful administrator, and procuring his removal. At this time it happened that Major Palmer came to Lucknow under Governor Hastings orders to demand twelve lakhs of rupees in addition to the ordinary instalments. Accordingly Haidar Beg Khan, through Tafazzul Husen Khán, conspired with the Major, and secured his co-operation in his plans by holding out to him the bait of the Residency at Lucknow. Then he began, according to his custom, to procrastinate about payment. Mr Johnson and Mr Middleton now lost heart, and were mute before Governor Hastings, who, notwithstanding their excellent management, interfered on the advice of this miserable Major Palmer. For a

long time there was no sign of the money. This led the Governor to ask Haidar Beg to explain. He replied that the delay had occurred owing to an order from Mr. Johnson, and he sent a forged letter to this effect, bearing Mr. Johnson's seal, to the Council. Mr. Johnson was summoned to Calcutta to answer this charge. As the Governor was at this time ill and had been rendered powerless in Council, the members of Council made a great deal out of this small matter, using it as a pretext for re-appointing Mr. Bristow. Mr. Middleton resigned through mortification, and they sent Mr. Bristow to Lucknow for the third time. I was in Lucknow when Mr. Johnson left. Just at the same time news came in of great outrages by Balbhadur Singh, and Mr. Middleton ordered that I should be sent for. As Mr. Johnson, when he bid me good-bye, had concealed the circumstances of his departure and consoled me with a promise of his speedy return, I left Lucknow and was involved in all those troublesome enterprises which have been described. I was successful and returned with laurels to Lucknow. To come to the point, Haidar Beg Khan, though he got rid of Mr. Johnson by the trick I have mentioned, did not succeed in his object of obtaining Major Palmer's appointment. As a last resort he employed himself in deceiving Mr. Bristow. This gentleman was well aware of his speculations and knavery, but, though he was determined to desert him, Ismail Beg Shurab for the furthering of his own ends, kept Mr. Bristow inactive so that Haidar Beg gained time. It happened in this way. As Ismail Beg had made up his mind to seize my 'ilqa and

deprive me of my station which rivalled that of Haidar Beg Khán, he put it into Mr. Bristow's head not to allow me any share in affairs for a short time, so as to reassure Haidar Beg Khán, and thus, while striving to put him at his ease, slowly contrived his ruin. And yet it was a fact that at that time Mr. Bristow was strongly supported by the members of Council, things had been carried on by me with success, abundant means of defeating Haidar Beg were at hand, and all that he wished was sure to be effected and in delay there was the danger of the opportunity being lost and of Governor Hastings recovering control. This was actually what happened. When my 'iláqa was divided out, over one-half was entrusted to two or three friends of Haidar Beg Khán's, and the rest was left with Ismá'il Beg Khán and Taqi Beg Khan, naibs of mine. Isma'il Beg got nothing whatever. In the next year, Governor Hastings regained his power and he removed Mr. Bristow on pretence of a change of plans.

Another event of this year was the establishment of courts of law. On this point it has to be said that, notwithstanding the immense population and the magnificence of Lucknow, there was not, and there is not, any recognized jurisdiction of courts of criminal or civil law. All transactions of money-lending are stopped and every one who has the power oppresses some one else, and the only punishment meted out to an oppressor is when the sufferer takes his life in his hand and seeks his revenge himself, or when some influential man in the city takes him under his wing. Qazi Ghulám Mustafá and Mustá Ghulám Hazrat and

many famous learned men—for there are numbers of accomplished and just and discerning men of other countries also here—elected to remain in their private houses, through fear of the sneers and ridicule of the Wazir's servants. Besides this, the Wazir's servants generally make their chobdars their agents and obtain fatwá's and decrees such as they desire. The position of chief justice of the Subah, a dignity which is the nearest to that of the Subahdar himself, and an office to be filled only by men of great knowledge and high bearing, had been conferred some years before on Bhawani Singh Rája, an orderly of the Wazir's, and is now filled by some one else like him. This results wholly from the villainy of the Wazir's servants, who desire to have no rule but their own in the city, and while they do not allow him a chance of doing justice, they blame it on his ill-health.

Justice is pushed aside complaint is vain

'Mid all this wrong alas! what can we gain?

When the Wazir does hold a court of justice, what he does is, he deposes a chobdar with the complainant and tells him to "go and do what this oppressor, who makes himself out to be oppressed, wants," but the protection of the oppressor is everywhere the custom. The Wazir is in the matter of criminal justice utterly heedless. There was a firework-maker in the Wazir's service lived in the Sabza muhallá, in which is my house, and he used to entice children of nine and ten years of age by their love of fireworks and kill them at the bidding of wizards, until men got a clue and dug up his house. They exhumed several corpses of children with their tongues and hearts cut out and their faces burned,

and carried them in that state to the Wazir's door, but for all their cries and lamentations there was no notice taken of them. The firework maker remained in confinement for some days, but now carries his head as high as ever in that muhalla, and frightens the parents of the murdered children with accusations of plundering the Wazir's property. Here is another illustration. A man named Nauroz Khan killed Raza Beg Mughal, a relative of the late Nawab. As the culprit was a relative of Jhao L'al, all the deceased's mother's appeals for justice were vain, and at last two lads about fifteen years of age, sons of the deceased's sister, killed the murderer at the Wazir's gate and ran away. Though the Wazir searched for them, they were not to be found. *Cases like this are too numerous to be written.*

Another oppression is that which the Wazir's subjects suffer in his two regular tours, for his camp-followers have permission to take grass, bhusa, firewood, earthen pots and other such things, and the subjects are so accustomed to oppression, that they reckon this tyranny nothing. but these men, on pretence of taking these things, levy as much grain and money as they go along, from the fields and houses of the peasantry, as keeps them for two or three months on tour and forms a fund for two or three months at Lucknow. *Add to this, they burn at night for illuminations the houses of the peasants, which are vacated because of the nearness of the camp and the consumption of firewood and other supplies already mentioned is so great in the camp, that they pull out the pillars of the people's houses and throw down the thatch to get wood for cooking their half ser of flour. When*

Tikait Rai or the collectors complained to Jhao Lal of the oppressive nature of their conduct, he used to reply that if it were meant to put an end to these practices, the Wazir's excursions, which are the means of enlivening his spirits, would be brought to an end, and that, if it were not for the two or three months in the year that his servants get something, it would be impossible to be in attendance on the Wazir. Those who exclaimed against the tyranny were silenced when they heard this.

In short, Mr Bristow, when he learned all these things, was incensed and bitterly reproached Haidar Beg. The latter, fearing lest Mr Bristow should himself undertake these matters, appointed Maulavi Mubín, a celebrated scholar, for some months during Mr Bristow's time, to the post of Civil Judge, and after Mr Bristow's removal he appointed Muhaminad Nasir Khán, a son of Mukhtár'd Daulah's paternal uncle, and a personal friend of his own, to this post, and fixed salaries for court officials. After a couple of years the officials, being unpaid, dispersed, and Mahammad Nasir Khan even left his native place and took up his residence in Benares. In 1207 A H, for some unknown reason, Tikait Rai nominated to this office Mustá Ghulam Hazrat, who is eminently qualified for the duty. Although the Mustá still continues appointed to the bench, yet, owing to the delays in payment of the officials of the court and to the authority usurped by influential men in the city, he might as well not exist.

In this year Mr Cooper, who had been appointed in Mr Johnson's stead as Mr Bristow's assistant, kept himself aloof from very shame, and being unable to endure these rascalities, left for Calcutta.

1198 A. H.

[26th November, 1783—13th November, 1784.]

IN this year Khwajá 'Ainu'ddin was removed from Bareilly on Mr Bristow's complaint, for the ruin he was there working, and Rájá Surat Singh was appointed in his stead. He went there from Sarwár and died after a lapse of a year and a few months. Then Rájá Jagan Náth, who had been sent as his assistant and deputy, on account of the close of the civil courts, was appointed principal, and the foundations of prosperity were laid in that province, but the unfortunate subjects of the Wazír who trusted in him were again involved in calamity, for in 1200 A. H. Haidar Beg dismissed Rájá Jagan Nath and merged the district in that of Jhao L'al. Jhao Lal's naib was Bhagwándás, whose father was the notorious Bálak Ram, a relative of Jhao Lal's. This Bhagwán Das acted so immoderately that he was killed by a collector. The province was then made over to Mirza Mahdí and became excessively impoverished. The effects of his oppression extended even beyond the málgúzárs to others, in the form of house-taxes and corn-tax, and even went as far as taking a tenth of their thread from women who worked spinning wheels, so that his tyranny became a proverb. Rájá Jagan Nath was placed under surveillance on a charge of false accounts, and after the death of Haidar Beg Khan was rigorously imprisoned through the malignity of Tikait Rai. He died of a broken heart in 1207 A. H., and was thus freed from the fear of tyrants.

In this year occurred the dismissal of Mr Bristow and the appointment of Major Palmer to succeed him. This came about as follows. During the whole of Mr Bristow's, tenure of office, Major Palmer stayed at Lucknow and exposed all Haidar Beg Khán's lies to the Governor. For this reason the Governor, having now recovered power, explained to the Council how the Wazír's affairs were daily becoming worse, and how Haidar Beg was laying the blame on the Company's gomash-tas, and said that it seemed advisable, in order to test him, to remove the Resident and gomash-tas from Lucknow, and to leave Major Palmer there as the Governor's agent. Hence Mr Bristow was dismissed and Isma'il Beg Shurah, who has been connected with every Resident from the days of the late Nawáb until now, as his postal agent, had not courage enough to remain at Lucknow and went with Mr Bristow to Calcutta. For this reason he destroyed the accounts of two years, and besides this he took a vast sum out of the collections of Allahabad on his way down country. He died not long afterwards in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. After his heaping up, with an utter disregard of the sufferings of men, a fortune, which is believed to have been many lakhs of rupees, his children are now reaping the reward of their father's sins and are living in extreme poverty and distress. Isma'il's money was in deposit with other people, and any one who held money when he died, misappropriated it.

I also determined to leave Lucknow at the same time with Mr Bristow, but Haidar Beg Khán became very importunate, wrote a letter with his own hand

before the open Qurán, expressing his satisfaction with me, and professing himself clear with me, and sorry for his illtreatment of me, and declaring good intentions toward me for the future, and gave it to me. Although I knew of old the laxity of his promises, yet, reflecting on my want of employment and the lack of interest in me shown by the English, I considered it best to accept his professions, and I remained for some years waiting for something to turn up, and proved to all my innocence and his faithlessness.

Another event of this year was the visit of Governor Hastings to Lucknow. The Wazir went to Benares to meet him and put him up in his Diwán-kháná, which is known as the Imárat Baoli, and entertained him as an esteemed guest. While the Governor was at Lucknow, there arose a famine and high prices prevailed such as men had not heard of for hundreds of years. Thousands of people died daily of inanition, and the heaps of corpses which accumulated in the suburbs caused a stench in the whole city. In this distress some English people who were residing at Lucknow, showed great sympathy for the famine-stricken poor, each of them provided food and medical attendance for five hundred or a thousand helpless people while the famine lasted, and then sent them home. Haidar Beg used daily to give out a thousand rupees by Governor Hastings' command, to be divided out to the infirm sufferers, but as the distributors were avaricious men, needy slaves and commandants of Haidar Beg's regiments, they abused the trust and used to appropriate more than half to themselves. And so great was the disorder they allowed at distri-

bution, that herds, hands and other limbs of applicants for relief were hurt, nay lives were actually lost in the scramble. Besides this, if a young girl who could talk well and had a pleasant voice met their view in the crowd,] they hurried her to Haidar Beg Khan's haram,] and indeed most of Haidar Beg's children are by these girls. It must be said that, if their master is so heedless in the treatment of the creatures of God, that he is bent on the gratification of lust even in the midst of such distress and cohabits with such persons, it is not to be wondered at if his servants are ravenous of money. Haidar Beg Khan was from the commencement of his career, given to distributing money in such ways that the hands and feet and heads of the poor were broken, for he had a thorough belief in the sayings of astrologers, and these men used sometimes to weigh him in a balance and get the equal of his weight in silver, copper and clothes, and sometimes they ordered him to distribute coppers to the poor, and sometimes also when he was himself in fear for any reason, he used to do the same. To this day one result of Haidar Beg's folly is seen in Lucknow, surviving as a memento of him. A number of professional beggars, who post themselves at particular places, have taken to demand false charity such as he used to give, and hundreds of persons in every street of the city pull the hands and clothes of respectable passers by, so that it is difficult to go along the road, for if anything be given they drag the donor from his vehicle or horse, and the strong among them kick and thump the weak and take their share, and if nothing is given, they indulge in every abuse that comes to their

already been mentioned, a man who, it was notorious, had not even the ability to fill the post, and who was one of Tikait Rai's associates and reckoned among his *protégés*. Jhao Lal's house and all his property were confiscated to meet the accounts, and he was himself imprisoned. After a year and a half he managed to satisfy Haidar Beg and was released.

Two months after Haidar Beg's return, Colonel Hauper was removed, and Mr F* was appointed, and at the same time the news of Lord Cornwallis' intention to visit Lucknow was received. The Wazir went to Allahábád to receive him, and Haidar Beg went as far as Benares, and they returned together. In accordance with custom they entertained the Governor and presented money, goods, and curiosities, but Lord Cornwallis would not take anything whatever of all they presented, and he endeavoured to out-do all previous Governors in the marks of respect and courtesy which he showed the Wazir. In fact, Lord Cornwallis, as the couplet puts it,—

What knoweth he of les who lives and speaks aright?

Crooked or straight alike a candle gives but light

inasmuch as he was himself straightforward, thought the Wazir and Haidar Beg were also so. In his large-heartedness and his appreciation of degrees of nobility, he took the Wazir to be like the Wazirs and Princes of other countries, and fancied that previous Governors, not having been of noble family, had failed to pay due regard to the high descent of the Wazir, and used to interfere unnecessarily in his affairs. So he said to himself that, if he respected the dignity

* The name is not given in the original.

of the Wazir, it would show his discrimination and further the interests of the Company, for most can be made of men of rank in this way. Accordingly he adopted the line of policy described. The Wazir now made a great mistake and began to fancy himself somebody of importance, and to think that he had for no reason submitted so long to the worry of Governors. When Lord Cornwallis discovered the extent of Haidar Beg's impostures and the Wazir's want of dignity, he became ashamed of himself, and resolved to remedy what he had done, but for some reasons this resolution did not take the shape of public action. This made the Wazir more obstinate. The first reason was the stability of the Governor's character. It was not usual with him to run impetuously or readily in the opposite course to what he had pursued. The second was his want of skill in civil administration and details of government. The third was the complicity of Mr. F. with the Wazir and Haidar Beg. All the faults he had detected in his time, he concealed owing to his great avarice. The fourth reason was that Haidar Beg Khán conciliated the Governor's staff and the members of Council and most of their friends in Calcutta, even their very servants, through the skilful offices of Tafazzul Husen Khán, so that no one might mention his villainies, and if any one made preparations for exposing him, he might be foiled by the multiplicity of his friends. For all these reasons, how could Lord Cornwallis, with his military simplicity, gain a complete insight into all the ramifications of Haidar Beg's rascality and deceit?

1202 A H

[13th October 1787—1st October, 1788]

In this year Haidar Beg gave his daughters in marriage to Makhdum Bakhsh, Sarfaráz Beg, and others, his four nephews. As they were his relatives, he made great efforts to add to the public importance and lustre of his sons-in-law. To each of them, notwithstanding their worthlessness and open disobedience, he assigned troops and public offices, and, as he thought, established their fortunes. As it happened, however, after his death, they proved wholly improvident, and fell so low through poverty that they used to pay court to Tikait Rai's clerks.

About this time the sordidness of Haidar Beg and his breaches of faith with me, led me to leave Lucknow and make my first visit to Calcutta. Haidar Beg, in accordance with the saying that "conscience doth make cowards of us all*" grew alarmed and sent Tafazzul Husen Khan to Calcutta, ostensibly as an agent of the Wazir, but really to frustrate me or hold me in check. So we arrived in Calcutta within twenty days of each other. I may mention in passing that the Khán had gone to Calcutta with Major Palmer, and had taken up his residence there when Haidar Beg visited that city. At the instigation of the latter he resigned the Company's service and returned with him to Lucknow. But Haidar Beg, as his habit was, chose to treat the Khán with distrust and neglect, until my movements drove him to make this appointment and satisfy all the Khán's demands.

*The original has the Arabic proverb *Alkhá'ia Khá'ifun*—the dishonest man is beset by fear.

1203 A. H

[2nd October, 1788—20th September, 1789.]

It was in this year, I believe, that Salaiman Shikoh, who is now in Lucknow, came there, and 5,000 rupees a month were assigned him for his expenses, and Khánzád Khán, an associate of his, undertook the management of his household

Haider Beg, although he had for some years dis-established the courts of law and kept Rájá Jagan Náth on parole, and though he hated the very name of civil law, in this year invested with the functions of the Civil Judge Hirde Narayan; brother of Maha Narayan, who has been mentioned in the beginning of these pages. This Hirde Narayan is a very insignificant and obscure man, and his appearance affords no indication that he is of good family or has lived in good surroundings. Still, if Haider Beg only supported him, he could manage an office better than Tikut Rai and his subordinates. But after his investiture with the office, which was, so to speak, a joke and satire, no business was entrusted to him, so that, in fact, he is hard up and at his wits' end for forty or fifty rupees for his necessary expenses.

halls and a balcony and arcades. The length of the halls is 60 yards and the breadth 30 yards. In front of it is a very broad terrace, and in the middle of it a reservoir. There is a large courtyard, and at the sides stand a lofty mosque and outoffices in keeping with it. Opposite the Imámbarah is erected a high gate, a kind of 'tirpanliyá,' and beside it are two or three extensive jilo-khánas, which have three doors each in the same style. Near this are outoffices, a hospital, and travellers' rest-houses. Over the gate of the outermost 'jilo-khana,' which is known as the Rumi Darwaza, they have erected a circular chamber with painted walls. The breadth of this gate will be the same as that of all three gates, 30 yards, and its height about 40 yards. It dazzles the eyes of those who look up. The roofs of this gate and of the halls, which are 30 yards wide, and of all the buildings in this block, are of brick and lime, and there is no wood whatever in the whole.

Every year since its completion four or five lakhs of rupees have been spent on the decoration of the Imámbarah. Hundreds of ta'zias, big and small, are made of gold and silver, and the number of glass chandeliers, with and without glass shades, plain and coloured, and candelabra of gold and silver and glass, with drum-shaped and bell-shaped shades, which are purchased, defies computation. The halls, large as they are, have their floors and ceilings filled with them, so that the care-takers can with difficulty perform their duty, and what room is there for the ta'zindars to come and go. So the public look on from a distance, sitting on the roofless terrace. With all this the Wazír was not satis-

you know that the different ranks of society are disordered, and that bad customs and habits are established among them, and the practices and principles of the ruler of the country have been from first to last opposed to the public weal. This being so, if one individual attempts to rectify these abuses, what can be the effect?" I replied "The alliance of the English power and their agency can correct the troops and settle the country, if only the veil of estrangement which Haidar Beg has drawn between us and them be removed." He then said "This is possible, but there is a proverb about people flying from coming calamity and falling into greater ills they know of. The English, as soon as they get a footing, will make the condition of the people here like that of those in Bengal." I said "If the English had had any hostile intentions, and their aim were the same as in the case of Bengal, they would have carried them out by this time, for there was no one to prevent them. Now that they come forward with representations only as to the condition in which the people are placed, worse treatment by them cannot be anticipated. Though the prosperity of some persons who now are in the ascendant and rob thousands of others would wane, the prosperity of those thousands would result, and in case of a war the lives and honour of the public would be safe." My friend laughed and said no more. I hope that my readers will not peruse this passage cursorily, and that they will judge for themselves to which of the two the imputation of enmity to the interests of Mussulmans clung and was the more correctly applicable.

1206 A. H.

[31st August, 1791—18th August, 1792.]

In this year Haidar Beg died, and Tikait Rai was appointed in his place. As already related, a vast number of women were gathered into Haidar Beg's house in the famine year. Owing to this and to the old age of seventy years which he had reached, he became impotent, but his lust became more keen, and he asked Hakím Shifâ'î Khán for some medicine. The hakim told him to dip a shoot of grass in cinnamon 'itar and rub it on betel leaf, and eat it once or twice a day. Haidar Beg, finding this beneficial, began to use it freely without informing the hakim. The spirituous nature and the heating properties of the cinnamon 'itar dried up the decreasing moisture of his system, and gave the mastery to that unnatural heat which was irritating his body because of some chronic fever. Haidar Beg and his medical advisers did all they could, but it was no use, and he went to his reward. The date of his death may be found from the following quatrain composed by a versifier of the day:—

The selfish soul that sowed for others' pain
 Left all, and harvest of his toil was none—
 Loss of both worlds—this was his only gain
 He died in seventeen ninety one *

After his death the practice of confiscation by the State, which had been the rule since the days of the

* It is impossible to reproduce in English the Persian chronogram (abjad) contained in the last line, so I have turned the Persian quatrain into an English verse, the first three lines of which are an exact rendering of the original, and have given the English date in the last line, as if it had been an epitaph.

revenue, amounting in all to about twenty lakhs of rupees, are not included. If the demand had been paid up in full, the jama' of 1188 Fashl would have been three kror, and the decrease would be one kror —

Ilāqa.	Jama of 1188 Fashl	Jama' of 1190 Fashl	Increase	Decrease
Shāhrah Itawah and Korah ilāqa of Almas Ah Khān	33 17 000	64 04 300		29 12 700
Chakla Bareh	65 70 000	35 00 000		30 70 000
Bahraich Gomāh and Gorakhpur	16 22 000	10 00 000		6 22 000
Sarkār Khairabad	11 64 000	13 80 124	2 16 124	
Sultānpur	6 13 000	5 35 000		78 000
Allahābād	9 94 000	8 15 000		1 79 000
A zamgarh and Māhal	8 66 000	7 00 000		1 66 000
Partabgarh and Ahmeti	13 40 000	6 18 000		7 22 000
Sandila and Malhabād with Hardoi	5 98 300	5 38 645		59 655
Albarpur Dostpur	4 45 000	4 15 000		30 000
Awadh and Darya ābud and Budaun	13 82 000	11 31 815		2 50 185
Manikpur Bahār	1 81 000	1 60 000		21 000
Baiswara Bareh and Dalmau	18 45 000	13 65 303		4 79 697
Ta luqa Muhammadi	2 29 000	2 00 000		29 000
Kharagarh	2 10 000	2 00 000		10 000
Tandah	4 70 000	8 13 076	3 43 076	
Harah Lucknow	1 62 000	72 000		90 000
Silak and Salon	5 90 000	2 50 000		3 40 000
Total	2 85 98 300	2 00 98 263	5 59 200	85 59 237

In short, after Haidar Beg's death, among all the great host of officials, Tikait Rai was selected by the Wazir, and the Wazir's idea in making this choice was this — he hoped that, as Tikait Rai was less forward and less important than Haidar Beg, he would not resist his foolish demands and would not oppose his wishes in deference to the English as Haidar Beg had done. In this matter of such vast

In short, inasmuch as all those who were worthy of the post of Náib, had been stripped by the persecuting assailments of Haidar Beg, and had retired into private life, and Tikait Rai was the picked man among those who were available, Lord Cornwallis and the Members of Council confirmed the Wazir's selection, although they were aware of the mean origin of Tikait Rai, and, as they did not think it would conduce to their keeping the Wazir in good humour, they did not venture to bring forward those who had been the victims of Haidar Beg's dislike, although this was what the case demanded. And yet, as a fact, they should in everything have run counter to the wishes of the Wazir, and should have checked the tendency to excesses in which he so recklessly indulged. If, for the sake of introducing that complete plan of government in which is bound up the business and prosperity of the public, and in which they are themselves expert, and which I shall write about at the close of this book, they were once for all to make the Wazir accept the unpleasant and, as it were, compel him to it, it would be highly advisable and after seeing the results of this plan, the Wazir would be so satisfied that he would never regret the change.

In short, the Wazir, after receiving sanction, raised Tikait Rai to the position of Náib, and giving Hasan Raza Khán also permission to supervise the administration, nominated him Názir. If Hasan Raza Khán had been worth anything, he could have had a wide influence in the affairs of the State, but fearing responsibility and having no knowledge of business, he held aloof in everything, and screening himself behind

Tikait Rai in all matters, made him so prominent, that he himself became dependent on him. Tikait Rai, on the other hand, from incapacity and worthlessness, began to exact too much service from him, until at last things came to the point of a quarrel between them, and Jhao Lal found his opportunity between them.

It must be remembered that Mirza Hasan Raza Khan is not to be blamed in this quarrel, for out of regard for his own dignity and that of his friends, from the time of Haidar Beg up to now, he had always disliked pressure and exertion, and was content with whatever was given him or happened him. The cause of his conduct in this instance was Mirza Ja'far, his sister's husband, for he excited in his mind by various suggestions false notions as to his and his own efficiency. As a fact, Hasan Raza Khan and Mirza Ja'far were both utterly unable to manage their private affairs, and for this reason they were always in straits and hard up. The brusqueness and laziness of Mirza Ja'far were so great, that in the mere capacity of private agent (*mukhtâr*) to Hasan Raza Khan, and during the nominal and temporary tenure of the post of *Nâib Bakhshî*, he gave offence to all his old friends, and daily kept putting off hearing what people had to say, pleading great pressure of business. Yet he used to sit up till three o'clock in the morning listening to music, surrounded by clowns and buffoons.

Master and I—we are a pair so neat

That two more masters for the two were meet

1207 A. H.

[19th August, 1792—8th August, 1793]

IN this year Lord Cornwallis, becoming convinced of the mismanagement of affairs at Lucknow wrote a letter of recommendation for me in terms befitting his station and dignity, and sent me to Lucknow. I had been four years in Calcutta. During that interval what had occurred was as follows.—Lord Cornwallis, when he heard my representations, after my arrival in Calcutta, promised to help me when opportunity occurred, and nominated me for the time to the agency at Haidarabad, but owing to the war with Tippu which then broke out, and his own departure for the Dakhin, he kept my appointment in abeyance. The Governor-General, therefore, made some verbal recommendations regarding me through Tifazzul Husen Khán and left for the Dakhin. Haidar Beg, however, who used to hear alarming news from the Dakhin, gave no effect to the Governor's orders. He died about the time the war ended, and Lord Cornwallis, when he returned to Calcutta, being resolved to support me, sent me to Lucknow. His intention was that through his letter I should gradually get a footing in the administration at Lucknow, and he would afterwards work out his designs regarding me. Unfortunately, at the very time that I arrived in Lucknow, Lord Cornwallis went to England. Raja Tikait Rai, out of fear for his own security, and Hasan Raza Khán, through his want of independence, gave me no

place. They kept putting me off with promises for some years, and paid me the 500 rupees a month which had been fixed many years before by that Government as my stipend.

In this year Hasan Raza Khán and Tikait Rai visited Calcutta to bid good bye to Lord Cornwallis, and to wait on Mr John Shore, the new Governor. The two of them were honoured with drums, the armorial bearings of the Fish, and with steps of rank, and they left Lucknow in mutual ill feeling. Hasan Raza Khan wished to take me with them on this embassy, but, through fear of Tikait Rai, said nothing of it to the Wazir. Tikait Rai wished the same, but *could not venture to express his wish for fear of Hasan Raza Khán*. The two left Lucknow. After their departure I applied to the Wazir to be permitted to join the embassy and pay my respects to Lord Cornwallis. The Wazir gave me a khilat and accorded me permission. I joined Hasan Raza Khan and travelled with him for three stages. When Tikait Rai heard this, he was greatly excited, sent alarming reports to the Wazir, and forwarded to him repeated letters, advising my recall. Hasan Raza Khán was helpless, insisted on my return, and sent me back. The two arrived in Calcutta, and, owing to their silliness and discord, returned next year to Lucknow without either experiencing any satisfaction. They represented their expenses to the Wazir as amounting to about 15 lakhs of rupees.

1203 A H

[9th August, 1793—28th July, 1794]

In this year Mr F* was removed and Mr Cherry was appointed to Lucknow. Mr F, after his dismissal, remained at Lucknow fruitlessly, and endeavoured to conciliate the Wazir by presenting nazars to the Nawáb Begam, and, although more than five or six residents of Lucknow used not to visit him, he had a day fixed for receiving them. He did not even adhere to the day, but used to change it, and thus the few who used to go to see him usually returned disappointed.

Oh who will chide the rook, and say

Of feathered songs' rest there lo

The bulbul only comes to woo;

Then why hast thou its pinions torn?

Mr Johnson, who was his assistant, was in every way an able man, so much so that the Wazir's officials could not sleep comfortably at night for very dread of him. But what was the use of this, when he had no power owing to the discord of Mr F, and was in a state of constant uneasiness through the resentment he felt at his undignified conduct. Notwithstanding all this the official influence of Mr F was greater than that of any other agent of the Company.

In this year Wazir Ali Khan's marriage with the daughter of Ashraf Ali Khan, son of Bando Ali Khan, took place. The amount of fireworks, illuminations, and other vanities displayed was so vast that the details would swell this book. More than twenty lakhs of rupees were squandered. On the day of the

* The nazar is not given in the original.

wedding the Wazir himself walked on foot before Wazir Ali's *takht-i rauan*. When the people urged him to ride, he replied "I have vowed with all my heart that I would on this day walk like all the servants before Wazir Ali's conveyance." For all this excessive show of respect for Wazir Ali, the Wazir after a short time confiscated all his allowances and properties, saying, "This son of a farrash has returned to his origin" for Wazir Ali used to strangle fowls and pigeons in the haram sara and call on the *servants to go into mourning and used to clothe himself in black*, as if he were thereby taking omens for the Wazir's death. For this cause the Wazir was angry with him. The reason why he termed him a son of a farrash was this. Wazir Ali was really the son of a farrash, and the farrash had for a money consideration made over his wife while pregnant to the Wazir. This is not the only case of the kind, nay, all the Wazir's children are of similar origin, for the Wazir's servants bought up every woman they could whom they found pregnant, in the beginning of her pregnancy, from her guardians, and placed her in the Wazir's haram. And sometimes a pregnant woman presents herself at the side of the Wazir's conveyance and cries "Though you do not recall the time I slept with you, still take pity on your son whom I carry in my womb" and the Wazir acknowledges her claim and places her in his haram. Some of his friends of the lower classes had the entrée of his haram, and the ugly features and dark complexion of the children in his haram are incontrovertible evidence of their thorough bred descent. After this marriage he instituted

marriage ceremonies every year about this season, and this custom became one of the finishing festivities of the *Holi*. Next year he asked the daughter of Mirza Jangali for his second son, Raza Ali. Mirza Jangali, having no choice left in the matter, at last reluctantly gave his consent. But on the bridal night he could not control himself and wept openly, giving vent to his grief and rage in loud cries. Although his cries revealed the secret of his pain, the Wazir said ‘Why does my brother weep at parting with his daughter? She is not going to another land where he cannot see her.’ He was weeping at the impropriety of a granddaughter of Shuja’ud Daulah’s entering the house of a nobody, whose legitimacy all respectable people deny, and in their regret cry “Allah hath sealed up their hearts, their ears and their eyes they have deceived him.”

1209 A. H.

[29th July, 1794—17th July, 1795.]

IN this year General Abercrombie came by boat to Cawnpore for military inspection. He was still on his journey when the Ruhela war re-opened. The Wazir, who interviewed him opposite Dalmau, was induced after much entreaty to fight against Ghulam Muhammad.

The cause of this was as follows :—At this period Faizullah, son of Muhammad Ali, son of Muhammad Khán, who had obtained after Háfiz Rahmat's death, a jágir yielding twelve lakhs of rupees, and had by his skill and prudence tripled the revenue, and gathered together all the people of his tribe, died. His eldest son, Muhammad Ali Khán, succeeded him as his heir by the Wazir's orders, but within a few days, as the hearts of the leaders of the clan were estranged from him on account of his unbridled tongue and his want of valour, his younger brother, Ghulam Muhammad, who was in command of the troops and had many good qualities, killed him. He calculated that, as it was the custom throughout the Súbah that the survivor should continue to pay the Wazir's revenue, and no questions were asked, there would be no chance of any interference by the Wazir. But, as the strength of this clan had been jealously marked by the English from the time of Faizullah, and they had had nothing to lay hold of hitherto owing to Faizullah Khán's prudence, Governor Sir

John Shore, now thinking this an opportunity for crushing the clan, wrote to General Abercrombie to that effect. The Wazir, as his hunting season was near, began to raise excuses, and to look for pretexts for delay and for treating with Ghulam Muhammad until he was at last compelled by the General's importunities to act, and he moved with his army two stages in the rear of the General's camp. Ghulam Muhammad, misled by Mr. Cherry, had refrained from any adverse movement, being now reduced to despair, he advanced with fifty or sixty thousand men and met the English force five kos on the other side of Bareli. Next day a sharp engagement ensued, and he fled to Rampur, and taking his family with him, fortified himself in the mountains opposite Rehrak. Owing to the inactivity of some English officers and the intrepidity of the Ruhelas, the English were on the point of sustaining a defeat, but the General, who occupied the centre, notwithstanding the dispersion of his right wing, held his ground and kept up an incessant cannon fire. The advanced guard of the Ruhelas, who were in the heat of victory engaged in decapitating the dead, became a mark for the fire, and they and the fugitives of their force were shot down. About 1,000 native soldiers, and one hundred Europeans and ten or twelve officers, were killed on the General's side, and about the same number fell on the other side, as well as some chiefs, among whom were Najju Khán and a son of Umar Khán. Among the points which favoured their enemies was the foolish haste which the Ruhelas showed in attack, for if the Wazir's force had come up and they had attacked them, the English

would have been unable to remedy the defeat which would have ensued. To resume, after the victory the Wazir joined the General's camp and pursued the routed army, pitched his camp at Rehrah and invested the place. Notwithstanding their defeat the Ruhelas were as eager as before for fight. Ghulám Muhammad, however, seeing the superiority of the English, obtained a promise of safe conduct and came to negotiate. He was not allowed to return. Mr. Cherry worked Nasrullah Khan, Ghulám Muhammad's naib, who was with him, round to his side, and after a month and a half the Ruhelas, finding themselves helpless, agreed to a peace. About 50 lakhs of rupees and nearly half of their country fell into the hands of the Wazir. Of the money, about 12 lakhs were paid to the English as blood money and compensation to the families of those killed in the campaign. Muhammad Ali Khan's minor son was appointed to the headship of the clan, and Nasrullah was nominated naib. Umar Khán and other Ruhela sardars, who had led to this war, obtained permission to return to, and reside at, Rámpur, and were left to profit by experience, which is the best master. Ghulám Muhammad Khan, who had been made a prisoner and sent to the fort of Chunár, was released and a pension of Rs 1,500 per mensem was settled on him as his share of the Ruhela jagir. He settled this on his wife and children, and left the Company's dominions for the performance of a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is said that after performing this pilgrimage he returned to Muscat, and came on to Surat, whence he proceeded to Byánagar. He is now prepared to

serve Zam'in Shah in hopes of obtaining his assistance in return.

In the course of these transactions Mr Cherry on several occasions exhibited a high degree of acuteness and trustworthiness. His claims on the Wazir became apparent. Among these services was the deception he practised with the agents of Ghulam Muhammad. He induced them to believe that this attack had originated with the Wazir, and that the English were merely acting under his orders, but that when the English got an opportunity, they would restrain the Wazir from his purposes. This led them to maintain a waiting attitude and make no active preparations. Whereas, if they had moved at all, the whole province of Bareilly would have been captured by them, and 50 or 60 guns and other munitions of war would have fallen into their hands. They could have summoned some thousand Sikhs to their aid, and the war would have fallen upon the Wazir's Sabih and he would have been placed in great difficulties. A second service was the arrival of Ghulam Muhammad to negotiate, and the rupture between Nasrullah Khan and the rest of the clan. This very much facilitated matters. The third service was the gain by the Wazir, without any conditions, of the money plundered and of the territory wrested. Yet a further service was the settlement of the affairs of the Ruhelas on a footing good for the Wazir and the Company, and bad for the Ruhelas. The fact is that the Ruhelas were offering Mr Cherry eight lakhs of rupees on condition of his favouring them, but he was firm. Jhao Lal also at the beginning of the quarrel was prepared to give ten

lakhs of rupees to Mr Cherry if he would let things go on without inquiry. Yet, in this case also, he remained honest and loyal to the two Governments. Notwithstanding all this, there happened what happened to him through the Wazir's inappreciation of his worth.

1210 A. H.

[18th July, 1795—6th July, 1796]

IN this year Tikait Rai was set aside and Jhao L'al stepped into the post of Náib without khila'at or formality. The reason is that, as Tikait Rai had neither presence nor ability, and was, moreover, excessively fond of boys, he commanded no respect, and the speculation, disorder, and greed, which had been common before, became worse than ever. All the officials were beardless youths, and each of his companions vied with the other in independence, and Tikait Rai was guilty of great excesses in grants of villages, land, daily stipends to Brahmins, and in bestowing gifts, and monthly allowances of thousands of rupees upon these young lads. Baijnáth and Dhanpat Rai amassed lakhs of rupees on the pretence of interest. In this way, the revenues of mahals were concealed, and they carried on the business of the Government by loans bearing interest, and bonds for these loans were taken in the name of the English, and most mahájans of the city as well as they divided the profits, until eventually thirty lakhs of rupees interest per annum was acknowledged as an item of expense. Hulas Rai and Nirmal Dás misappropriated vast sums out of the income of the mahals under their management. Besides this, all these except Nirmal Dás, who was a humane and dignified man, turned the people against themselves by their habit of bad language and idle talk. This evil habit became confirmed, and they came to practise not upon the poor alone, but even with respectable

people Accordingly the Wazir's and Mr Cherry's servants were kept running for twenty days to the treasury to draw their instalments, and received abuse from the officials Frequent complaints of this reached the Wazir and Mr Cherry Tikait Rai apologized, but there was no improvement, until at last a dispute arose between Baijnath and Hulas Rai Jhao Lal was informed of all their secrets by Balak Ram, who was a close friend of Hulas Rai Baijnath and Dhanpat Rai, claiming all the country as security for the payment of the loans, suspended the payment of the instalments due to the Wazir and the English and all the expenses of the State Tikait Rai, thinking it advisable to forestall inquiry, addressed the Governor, Sir John Shore, and represented that the sole cause of all this was the Wazir's prodigality, and asked the Council for a letter of advice to the address of the Wazir and a note to Mr Cherry, directing him to use his influence to limit the Wazir's expenditure The Governor complied with his application, and Mr Cherry asked him for a schedule of account As all that Tikait Rai wanted was that thirty or forty lakhs of rupees should be cut off the Wazir's and his servants' expenditure and devoted to the payment of the yearly interest, and was quite regardless of the waste by his own protégés and his personal prodigality, Mr Cherry did not obtain a satisfactory reply He therefore resolved to take advantage of the appeal made by Tikait Rai to the Governor for reduction of the Wazir's expenses, to create a breach between Tikait Rai and the Wazir, and obtain through the Wazir the control of expenditure, and of the revenue on the following plan

that HASAN Raza Khan should be Bakhshi, Bahráj* Khazanchi, and some one else Diwán, and the Wazir himself general superintendent. He fancied that, as the Wazir could not exercise supervision, that duty would be entrusted to him, and that these three appointments would be nominal, while he would be in a position to direct everything. But at this point some prudent persons told him that it was inadvisable to support the Wazir, though it was proper to create the breach proposed, that, as Tikait Rai would have no refuge but in the English, he would have to bow to the yoke, and he (Mr Cherry) would obtain the mastery without resistance, and could then gradually remodel every department. This advice was good, but Mr Cherry, deeming it proper to side with the Wazir, because of his incapacity, asked the Council for permission to adopt this course, and although Mr Cooper was against this proposal, the Governor, for heaven knows what reason, gave his consent. Jhao L'al and Bachhráj counselled the Wazir to humour Mr Cherry for the time, avail himself of his assistance to remove Tikait Rai, take the reins into his own hands, and that they would then baffle Mr Cherry.

All these now aided Mr. Cherry to set Tikait Rai aside, and each cherished in his heart designs to defeat the intentions of the others. Thus Jhao L'al, relying on his intimacy with the Wazir, hoped to become Náb, himself Bachhráj thought that, as the Wazir would not be content with Mr Cherry's control after Tikait Rai's removal, the choice would fall on Tafaz-zul Husen Khan. Hasan Raza Khán and Mirza

* Probably the name should be Bachhráj

efforts for his restoration should be made on your part " Owing to this rupture between the Wazir and Mr Cherry, a long altercation ensued and they ceased to visit each other. As it was impossible to bring the Wazir to his senses without strong measures and threats, and it was inadvisable to maintain Mr Cherry near the Wazir in such a dispute, the Governor removed Mr Cherry, and sent to Lucknow Mr Lumsden, who was agent at Benares, and he wrote to the Wazir that he had removed Mr Cherry as he desired to maintain the Wazir's dignity, and that he hoped the Wazir would not permit Jhao L'al to have any share in the Naib's duties, as he was a turbulent spirit. The Wazir and Jhao L'al, construing this into a confession of weakness on the Governor's part outwardly complied with his wishes, but secretly acted in direct opposition to them. It must be understood that this rupture between the Wazir and Mr Cherry arose from a stubbornness on the Wazir's part, to which Bachhray had prompted him by means of Tafazzul Husen Khan and his own gomastah, Shimbhu Nath, and he incited the Wazir by deceitful words to believe that he could rely on the temper of the Governor and the Council for the attainment of his ends. Had it not been for this, the Wazir would not have dared to oppose Mr. Cherry, and the affair would not have been so prolonged. Stranger than this, after Mr Cherry's removal, Bachhray, although he had gained his end, began to aspire to the distinction of Naib, and he cultivated the friendship of Jhao L'al, and became an enemy of Tafazzul Husen Khan under whose shield he had been living for fifteen years. Notwithstanding all these machina-

tions, he has outridden every danger and is waiting for his chance to come

In this year Burhannul Mulk's daughter died. She was a chaste and magnanimous woman. She passed her whole life in the enjoyment of authority and wealth, but not one act did she ever commit inconsistent with her greatness. They say that before her birth the footsteps of Burhannul Mulk were dogged by poverty, but that from her birth good fortune began to attend upon his family, and the breezes of prosperity to blow from the bounty of heaven. When Nawab Safdar Jang was defeated by Ahmad Khan Bangash, she was at Sháhjahánábád. Jawed Khan Mudaruli Mahamm, meditated some outrage to her. The lady prepared with her servants to resist him and succeeded in blunting the fangs of his cupidity. On Safdar Jang's return she gave all her treasures as a thank-offering for his safety, and bestowed robes of honor, magnificent equipments and accoutrements on all her husband's servants who had shared his dangers. After this she had no private funds left, but she subsisted contentedly during her son's lifetime on the jagir, yielding about a lakh and a half a year, which the Emperor had conferred on her, and coveted nothing from the domains or treasury of her son. Although the late Nawáb adopted many pretences in the endeavour to supplement her income, his devices failed and so, when she died, she left not more than ten or fifteen lakhs of rupees, cash and goods, which she had saved up for a pilgrimage to Mecca. But the Wazir, fancying that she must have left a vast fortune, subjected her retainers to many tortures. There is a

custom of sitting in mourning for forty days at the place of death, universally observed by all Muslim women in India. The Wazir did not allow the mourners for the Begam to observe this ceremony. He dragged within one week from her house old ladies in waiting of Safdar Jang's time, and Muharram Ali Khán and Matbu' Ali Khán, who had each lived for sixty or seventy years in the enjoyment of the highest respect, and had been accustomed to be treated with honour, and in whose presence the late Nawáb had always behaved *courteously* ; placed *fetters on their feet* and made them walk through the streets of Faizábád ; and on base suspicion beat them and degraded them. When nothing was extorted by this means, they were all brought to Lucknow. At last he was satisfied by confiscating all their personal properties, and this detestable proceeding, which disgusted everybody, ended. The only riches that he found, beyond the treasure at first disclosed, was the good fame of the departed lady.

Another of the events of this year was the visit of the (Governor) General to Cawnpore. The explanation of this was that the officers of the brigades had addressed the Council at Calcutta regarding their rank and salaries. The Governor came up by *dák* to Cawnpore and settled the points in dispute. The Wazir sent Jhao L'al, on the pretext of an escort with Wazir Ali, to receive and entertain the Governor at Cawnpore, and he invited him to visit Lucknow. The Governor, after he had settled this business, came to Lucknow. while the dispute with Mr. Cherry was in progress, and gave some advice. He returned to Calcutta as quickly as he had come.

1211 A H

[7th July, 1796—25th June 1797]

IN the beginning of Muharram of this year, Mr Cherry left Lucknow for Benares and Mr Lumsden settled down at Lucknow like a nonentity. The star of Jhao Lal reached its zenith. Ghulam Qadir Khan, a servant of the Company and Mr Lumsden's spokesman, was corrupted by the lying overtures of Jhao Lal, and Jhao Lal's mind became easy.

I also now considered it inadvisable to remain at Lucknow, and left with Mr Cherry, and, after passing the rest of the rainy season up country, I set out for Calcutta. As Jhao Lal had in the course of the late intrigues held out inducements to me, both directly and indirectly, to assist him and throw Mr Cherry over and I had not done so, he had fostered a grudge against me, and it was highly probable that he would on some pretence injure me. At this juncture, the Bareilly mahals which were under Shambhu Nath, Bujnath's brother, were made over to Almas at a reduced jama. He divided out Nirmal Desai's ilaga and Baiswara to Mirza Mahdi, and an orderly, Nawaz Singh. Although this Mirza Mahdi had been raised from the dirt by Tikait Rai, he joined Hasan Raza Khan when Tikait Rai was Naib, and aspired openly to the Nisabat. Tikait Rai for this reason removed him and imprisoned him for embezzlement. When after a time Tikait Rai's position became shaky, he broke off from Hasan Raza Khan and made up to Jhao Lal. On paying five or six lakhs he obtained

actually grew worse. More, the thin veil of decency formerly maintained was withdrawn.

It must be said that this course was no new one with him. Even before this, when he appointed any one to any post, he assigned it to him as if it were a *jágír*. For instance, Bálak Ram, who was the *Názir* of 1,000 *bárgírs*, used to receive from Tikait Rai the price of the grain and of the shoeing of their horses each month, and of two suits of clothing for each horse each year, and the pay of the *bárgírs* themselves. For all this, the horses had to stand uncovered for three

his release, and by a contemptible fawning, to which honourable men do not stoop, he became Jhao L'al's confidant and confederate. Now he was on intimate terms with Tafazzul Husen Khan, because the son of the latter is married to his brother's daughter. In the face of the ruin which he has worked in Bareli, he still has a finger in all the affairs of the Subah and is doing his utmost to ruin Hasan Raza Khan, Jhao Lal and Tikait Rai.

To sum up, the service which Jhao Lal rendered the Wazir at this time was this. He reduced in some cases, and in others cut off, the auxiliary allowances granted to relatives and old friends and military chiefs, even those of the very kinsmen and brothers of the Wazir, and those of the women of the seraglios of Burhanu'l Mulk and Safdar Jang and of the late Nawáb, and he lodged the savings thereby made in the Nawab Wazir's personal treasury. He feared incurring disrepute on account of delay in paying the instalments due to the English, and he paid off the debts of Tikait Rai's time, amounting to about a krór and a half. He did this thus. He deferred payment of the interest due on the English bonds, and borrowing forty lakhs from the Nawáb Wazir he paid cash. He spread the debts due to bankers of the city over seven years, and told them that their lien was on the world above. Some of them stood out. When the inquiry was referred to Raja Mahra, they made up their accounts and accepted this arrangement. Yet he not only failed to notice the prodigality of the Nawáb Wazir's officials and Tikait Rai's protégés, who had now become his officials and protégés, but the old evil

actually grew worse. More, the thin veil of decency formerly maintained was withdrawn.

It must be said that this course was no new one with him. Even before this, when he appointed any one to any post, he assigned it to him as if it were a *jágir*. For instance, Balak Ram, who was the *Náir* of 1,000 *bárgirs*, used to receive from Tikait Rai the price of the grain and of the shoeing of their horses each month, and of two suits of clothing for each horse each year, and the pay of the *bárgirs* themselves. For all this, the horses had to stand uncovered for three watches in the depth of winter, and many perished of the cold. He used to have them shod only twice in the year, that is, when the usual tours were near, and he used to give them grain once only in several days. He delivered to the *bárgirs* only half their monthly pay. If a *bárgir* ventured to complain in the *darbar*, Jhao L'al represented him to be an idiot or maniac, and discharged him. On account of the command to be always in attendance on the Wazir and of the necessity to humour him he had not time to scratch his head. He was thus regularly engaged every day from two hours before sunrise to ten o'clock in the day, and again from four in the afternoon to about ten at night. If he had not relied on his own agents, but had personally scrutinized their labours, he would have lost his influence with the Nawab Wazir entirely. The following story illustrates this.—One day Almas Ali Khan said to him, 'Safdar Jang, although he had the business of one *Subán* only to attend to, used not to spend the mid watches over the affairs of the *Subah*, and it is essential that you who have so heavy

'a burden should have a time and place fixed for business' Jhao L'al replied 'I know nothing of Safdar Jang, but I know this much, that the work of one pargana, one Subah, or ten Subahs is all the same Every one who refers any matter to me must receive a reply whether it be 'yes or no' For this business it is not worth while to have a time or place specially set apart It was for this reason that the Nawab Wazir liked him, and often used to say 'Hasan Raza Khán, Haidar Beg, and Tikait Rai were all three untrue to me, but Jhao L'al set my house to rights' This was a curious delusion of his

After these affairs had been settled the Nawab Wazir prepared for his tour of that season, but on this occasion he resolved to visit Allahábád, Cawnpore, and Farukhábad, to show off to the English and his subjects the dignity with which he had invested Jhao L'al He gave orders for the repair of the buildings in the Fort at Allahábád which he had despoiled of some stones to remove them to Lucknow From Allahábád he came to Cawnpore, and feeling snubbed because no notice was taken of Jhao L'al by the officers there, he went on to Farukhábad Here he removed Muzaffar Jang's eldest son, and took the part of another of his sons

The explanation of that is this Muzaffar Jang, son of Ahmad Khán Bangash, having died, his eldest son succeeded him The Nawáb Wazir accused him of poisoning his father and set him aside Whether the charge was false or true, is not known, but there is a strong suspicion that this act was one of Jhao L'al's plots, and his aim was to have Khudawand Khan appointed

Mukhtár. Jhao L'al was distrusted by the Governor, and he was always bent on elevating his own creatures. Thus he made friends of the Marhattas of Kalpi, and he looked on the strength of Ali Bahádur as his own on account of Himmat Bahádur, whose daughter had been married to his son in exchange.* He summoned from Rámpur Umar Khán, who had been the cause of Ghulám Muhammad's rebellion, and placed him in the Nawáb Wazír's service. Through him he caused complaints to be heard against Nasrulla Khán. His aim was to spread the influence of Umar Khán at Rámpur. When the Governor demanded an explanation, he pretended to let the matter drop and sent Umar Khán away, and replied that the Wazír had sent for him to get a sword from him. It was in pursuance of *this scheme that he desired to instal Khudáwand Khán as Náib at Farukhábád.* As the influence of this Khán over the Afghans of Mau, Shamsábád, and Farukhábád was not to be secured, while the elder son of Muzaffar Jang was on the spot, it is not unlikely that this led to the accusation which was charged against him.

Another event of this year was the arrival of Zamán Sháh Abdáli at Lahaur, and the hiding of the Sikhs in the mouse holes of the Panjab. As it was supposed that the Abdáli, like his grandfather, would not stay at Lahaur, but would go forward to plunder Lucknow and Benares (for there was nothing in the ruined city of Delhi to satisfy the invading hordes), the English prepared to resist him. They made the Fort of Allahábád their base, and having communication along the

* The son and daughter of the one had been joined in marriage to the daughter and son respectively of the other.

river Ganges, which was advantageous for the purpose of supplies, they formed a camp at Kannauj. Munitions of war and reinforcements came up in successive despatches from Calcutta, and they remained in expectation of the Abdálí's approach. But when he had made his preparations to take Lahaur, he received tidings of the rebellion of his brother Mahmud, the Governor of Híráf, who had been incited to this by the promise of the support of Muhammad Khán, the King of Persia. He therefore returned with all possible speed to Kabul, but he left an army of occupation in the Dúrb between the Atak and the Jhelum, about one-third of the Panjab. This force succeeded in reducing that territory. As the Russian Army meditates a move on Persia, Muhammad Khán is now occupied with them. It is reported that a peace has been patched up between Mahmud and Zamán Sháh; and the latter will return to Lahaur in the beginning of the winter. What advantage the English saw in occupying Kannauj is not apparent. Perhaps they intended that, after Zamán Sháh's arrival at Delhi, they should march forward through the Bareilí maháls on the banks of the Ganges to a fordable passage and there post themselves. By the occupation of Kannauj, Lucknow and Benares were not protected, for any one who intends to go to Lucknow will not go through Akbarábád, which would necessitate crossing both the Ganges and Jamna, but would cross the Ganges at Hardwar, and gather round him the Ráhelas of Ghausgarh and Rampur, and go on unopposed to Lucknow and Benares. To guard Lucknow it is, therefore, most advisable to take up a position on the banks of the Ganges on the Bareilí side.

In this case the Rukhas of Rámpur cannot make any sudden movement, and the closing of the fords of the Ganges is easy. Besides, the Ganges is commanded and the Fort at Allahábad is in the rear, and the conveyance of supplies is not threatened.

When the rumour of Shah Abdáli's approach was current, news reached Calcutta of an intention on the part of Jhao L'al to join the Abdali. The Governor, Sir John Shore, became uneasy, and considered that no time should be lost. He took Tafízzul Husen Khán with him and proceeded to Benares by dák. Thence he set out for Lucknow with 4,000 horse and foot, and suitable preparations. The Nawáb Wazír and Jhao L'al, who thought that the Governor was coming to arrange for the fight with Zamán Sháh, went to Jaunpur to meet him, and returned with him to Lucknow. After the usual ceremonies, the exchange of turban and hat and so on, the Governor asked the Nawab Wazír to remove Jhao L'al and appoint another Naib. The Wazír made all possible excuses, but finding it impossible on this occasion to resist, he prohibited Jhao L'al from coming to the darbár. He resolved to give the Nábat to Almas Ali Khán, and in order to deceive Tafízzul Husen Khán and to gain some of his own ends, he nominated Tafízzul Husen Khán also. Before obtaining the Governor's sanction he gave Almas Ali his seal and some offices, and thus signified his appointment as Naib. That old wolf, notwithstanding that he had always protested his refusal of the appointment, now accepted it to assist the Wazír in his fraud, and to secure the continuance of Jhao L'al. The Wazír's intention was that by giving

him this appointment, the estrangement of the English should be perpetuated, and that the errors of Jhao L'al should remain concealed owing to there being no friction between him and Almás Ali, and thus gradually he would obtain an opportunity of reinstating Jhao L'al. But the Governor knew that giving the Niabat to Almás Ali would be delivering the sheep to the wolf, and he declined to accept the nomination. He requested the appointment of Tafazzul Husen Khán. The Wazir had himself mentioned his name and could not refuse to appoint him. He complied with great reluctance. 'The fool is taken in his own net,' and so it was. The Governor after settling this affair and increasing the Wazir's annual contribution to the Company by six lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of newly-recruited Turk sawárs, obtained the banishment of Jhao L'al to Azimábád, and returned to his capital.

After the Governor's departure the Wazir evinced his dissatisfaction by at once turning out Major Palmer, who had been left behind to support Tafazzul Husen Khán, and other English officers from the houses in which he had lodged them when the Governor came to Lucknow. He was asked the reason of this, and he made some excuse. He is at times cross and at times pleasant to Tafazzul Husen Khan. He regrets the freedom and license to which he was accustomed under Jhao L'al, and secretly seeks a change. Almás Ali also, on account of the snub he received in connection with his nomination to the Niabat, shares the counsels of the Wazir and meditates evil, awaiting the turn of fortune.

It must be observed that the selection of Azim-
abád as Jhao L'al's place of residence was injudicious,
His conduct did not deserve so much notice. His total
banishment was the advisable measure. To show con-
sideration for such mean creatures is to lower the
dignity of a Government in the eyes of men. The
refusal to give effect to the nomination of Almas Ali
was proper. He has by embezzlement and speculation
brought together 20,000 horse and foot, and amassed
a great treasure. To give such a person further
power is impolitic. Besides this, he is such a spoiler
that every province which was ever entrusted to
him, though he was for several reasons maintained
in its administration, he laid utterly waste. This is
shown by the small revenue exhibited for his districts
in the statement already given. Up to the present
he has twice rebelled. Once, with his army, artillery,
and treasure he attempted to join Afrásíáb Khán and
again in the same way he threatened to go to Kálpi,
until Haidar Beg Khán conceded all his demands.
Mr Johnson and Mr Bristow were each once removed
to please him, and he then gave in. It is not
unlikely that the fatal follies which we hear are being
committed in the Súbah as a relish to the removal of
these two gentlemen, may be intended to procure his
cherished ends and those of the Wazír. But the ap-
pointment of Táfazzul Husen Khán is judicious, both
on account of his own wisdom and sagacity and on
account of the discriminating knowledge he has of the
Wazír's officials, and no better device could be hit
upon for securing a good understanding between the
English and the Nawáb Wazír, but to effect a radical

The proper plan for managing the Subah is this Let the Wazir be, once for all, duly admonished and his expenses limited, let him have control of them, and, as in Haidar Beg's time, have no voice in revenue or military affairs, let all intriguing and mutinous spirits be removed from about him, and some Englishman be appointed with full powers to the administration of the Subah at Lucknow, an officer who is thoroughly experienced in government and who knows the people of India intimately, and who is loyal to the interests of both Governments, and let the Naib, Diwan, Khazanchi, Bakshi, and other officials remain subordinate to him and draw up their estimates under his instructions, and lay them before the Wazir for sanction, let some English officers be appointed to superintend the troops, and provide horses and accoutrements, and pay the men regularly every month and see that they render service, let every one—soldier, official, or subject—who breaks the new regulations or resists, be at once expelled the country, so that those who remain may pursue their occupations in security, and every evil doer vanish All the old collectors and subordinates, and nearly all the old military officers should be got rid of, for they are puffed up with pride and are given to prodigality and a thousand other evils They cannot submit to control, and will not discriminate between benefactors and mischief makers It is impossible to correct them The middle classes and the poor must be brought forward and appointed to offices They will act according to orders and disinterestedly in the hope of gaining position and increased credit

good by putting the military on a proper footing, improve the country, or remove the evil practices which have become common, or reform the Wazir himself, is impossible while cross purposes are at work. To expect this of the Khan, or any other native, is like looking on the house top for an article hidden in the courtyard, for this end cannot be attained without the co-operation of the English power, and their supervision of the whole proceedings of the local officials and the army. Had the Wazir and his officials had any sense of shame, or appreciation of good advice, they would, during the ten or fifteen years that they have had absolute power, since Mr Johnson and Mr Bristow left, have effected reforms, whereas, through every one's struggling to make affairs serve his own ends, they have brought matters to the present pass. Whoever be Náib, if he be weak and easy going, and do not inquire into the Wazir's conduct, he will find his evil habits render all government impossible, if he inquire into everything, the result will be a quarrel between him and the Wazir, and the humiliation of the Wazir will necessarily reduce the dignity of the Náib's office. Suppose the impossible—that the Náib does correct the Wazir and eradicate or modify his injurious propensities, still the Náib cannot rid himself of his human nature, and where neither the Wazir nor the English exercise any control over him, how far will he restrain himself from seeking his personal gain? Suppose that a man of angelic goodness be found, as he is but one, how can he reform this wretched concourse of soldiers and subjects and officials, who have been for years demoralized and grown confirmed in their evil habits?

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The interest of the tenantry lies in security for the poor and reducing the strong. A revenue tax should be assessed on each which he can pay, and at the same time himself subsist in comfort. Honest collectors should be selected from the middle and poorer classes, and should have no power to change the revenue assessment. In each district of the Súbah there should be a military station to repress the refractory under the direction of the collector. A formidable force of English troops should be posted at Bareli, even a fort should be built, so that the Rukelas may have no time to scratch their heads. It is advisable to remove on every possible pretext the leaders of that clan from that country and from the Wazír's army, until they become in the course of time powerless. In no other way can this be done. Otherwise in critical times they will emit the most dangerous sparks of mischief.

THE END.